

TRANSFORMING AFRICA: THE ROLE THE CHURCH IN DEVELOPING
POLITICAL LEADERS

by

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submitted in accordance with the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF THEOLOGY IN MISSIOLOGY – WITH SPECIALISATION IN URBAN MINISTRY

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

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JUNE, 2013

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This is to express my sincere indebtedness to many people who assisted me to research into the topic of *Transforming Africa: the Role of the Church in Developing Political Leadership*, write and submit this thesis. Their support through prayers, encouragements, advices and patience is highly appreciated.

My special thanks are to my promoter Professor Johannes NJ Kritzinger, who has provided me with the necessary moral and technical support to complete the thesis. I equally appreciate the assistance of Dr. Stephan de Beer, with whom I started this research as a joint promoter, but who, because of the circumstances beyond our control, could not finish the research with me.

My special thanks are also extended to Dr. Emmanuel K. Tshilenga, Founder and President of African Operation, who provided me with the most valuable information on the organisation. I equally thank National Coordination Authorities of Operaf DR Congo, who offered me specific information on the functioning of the organisation in the Congo. My thanks are equally extended to Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute research section leadership who provided me with useful information about the organisation.

I equally thank Professor Claude M. Kalemba, Pastors Benjamin Tshibamba and Bertin Kadima and Joseph M. Kayemba and their families who often prayed for and encouraged me through the research. My special thanks equally go to Pastor Charles Bafinamene who often discussed the research with me and prayed for me with his family.

I equally acknowledge spiritual, moral, material support of the elders of the International Church of Pretoria, namely, J.P. Ntengu and Jules Mupenda and their families, who continually prayed and encouraged me and my family in various ways all through the years.

I am greatly indebted to my wife Brigitte and daughter Blessed who have sacrificed so much and suffered from the long hours of separation for the accomplishment of the research. I am equally indebted to Professor Jacques Katabua and his family who have been supporting me morally, spiritually and materially. I equally thank all the brethren who supported me in various ways during this research.

Last and not least, I thank God for His full providence concerning this work.

SUMMARY

This thesis reflects on how to develop an African leadership that can contribute to the effective transformation of the African continent. After analysing the concept of leadership and categorising it for better understanding, the mission of the church as a developer of leaders par excellence has been examined and its potentials and limits assessed. Then, the thesis studied the specific extent of poor African leadership and its dire socio-political consequences in a sub-Saharan African country; so, the context of DR Congo was analysed. After that the contribution of the notion of African Renaissance to the whole debate of leadership development in Africa was assessed and the social, economic and political climate of the continent analysed. The poor and deficient African leadership has been identified as the main cause of rampant conflicts and wars, a slow economic development and lack of transformation in the continent.

Given that church leadership seemed so poor and inefficient, the thesis has recommended that the African church needed primarily to transform its own leadership to be able to effectively develop transformational political leadership.

The analysis of African institutions already involved in the development of an African leadership for socio-political transformation has shown that Christianising African leadership and socio-political institutions alone was not enough. So, the thesis has proposed a comprehensive socio-political discipleship for the transformation of both individuals and their communities. In a nutshell, the discipleship includes a socio-political intercession¹, a four-dimensional discipleship, a socio-political psychotherapy and a church involvement project for socio-political transformation.

Key Terms: African Operation, African Renaissance, develop a leadership, four-dimensional discipleship², political leadership, role of the church, socio-political discipleship, socio-political intercession, socio-political involvement, socio-political psychotherapy, socio-political transformation, Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute.

¹ Socio-political intercession is an intercession which is carried out for the transformation of individuals and that of their environment.

² This is a discipleship which intentionally pursues the transformation of Christians spiritually, intellectually, morally and socio-politically. It is because of these four dimensions that it has been called “four-dimensional”. It is closely related to socio-political discipleship which intentionally pursues socio-political transformation in human communities.

ABBREVIATIONS

ANC: African National Congress

APRM: African Peer Review Mechanism

ARI: African Renaissance Institute

CCC: Church of Christ of Congo

CSSDCA: Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Co-operation in Africa

DRC/DR Congo: Democratic Republic of Congo

GCOWE: Global Consultation on World Evangelism

ICP: International Church of Pretoria

MAP: Millennium Africa Recovery Plan

NAI: New Africa Initiative

NEPAD: New Partnership for Africa's Development

OPERAf: From French Operation Africaine, meaning, African Operation

OT: Old Testament

SACAR: South African Chapter of the African Renaissance

SACC: South African Council of Churches

TMALI: Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute

Authorship declaration

I hereby declare that *Transforming Africa: the Role of the Church in Developing a Political Leadership* is my own work and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete reference.

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Signature
AK Banza

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Date

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCING THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

This thesis wishes to contribute to the socio-political transformation of Africa through reflecting on the development of a leadership that can make this transformation possible. The transformation of the continent through the development of an appropriate African leadership is much needed because of the negative socio-political impact of the past and current leadership. Commenting on these negative consequences, Rotberg (2004:9) observes that Africa's rampant conflicts and strikingly slow economic development stem in large part from poor governance and deficient leadership. *Transformation* of the continent is used to introduce the title of the research as its leitmotif that will resonate throughout this thesis. The study then prompts me to do what Halvorson (1969:279) says to be the business of political theology, namely, to encourage the church as a body with its various denominations to actively engage in the positive change of individuals and institutions. Speaking of this theology, its action and relation with other theologies, Downey (1999:1) declares: "Political theology calls all theology to be political, to engage the concrete human world with its social relations, cultural justifications, economic positioning and all the rest". This is a type of political theology that does not justify the status quo, but that relates to the ethic of change and accepts political actions as a means of transforming society (Assmann 1976:29-34). It is also what I mean by comprehensive political theology in this thesis; it thus includes spiritual and various socio-political aspects such as economy, politics and culture. The study investigates and evaluates the effort of the church to contribute to leadership development. The evaluation of the work of the church has been considered in detail through the activities of African Operation, specifically through its work as realised in DR Congo where this organisation started operating before reaching other African countries. The thesis equally encourages African churches to always be prepared to adopt good political projects and work together with other social organisations for community transformation. That is why this thesis has also

analysed the contributions of a non-church organisation like Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute (TMALI) in the sixth chapter. Such regular connections of church visions with good projects from the social and/or political arena may be profitable to see churches use their potentials to contribute to the transformation of the socio-political life in the community where it operates. Reporting on a conference gathering theologians and scholars from different parts of the world, Kanyandago (2002: 27) has this to say:

The number one task of governments and all citizens of Africa in the new century is to sustain and accomplish the hope of independence using the continent's own philosophical vision in the context of present-day realities. This will affect Africa's rebirth.

Then going on later he says: "We support the call for an African renaissance and the promotion and defence of African cultural values" (:192).

What I appreciate of the new political theological perspective, in particular, is that it proposes how the transformation of individuals and communities can be reached from the actions of the church and of other partners (Halvorson 1969:279). Assmann (1976:34) posits that the new political theology started as from 1960's; the principal exponents of this political theology are J. B. Metz and Jürgen Moltmann. Conscious of the historical burden of the term *political theology*, they are trying instead to do away with the theologies that justify the status quo (:30).

My ultimate hope in this thesis is to propose how to achieve the development of a community like what Linthicum (2003:38) calls shalom community in this continent. Explicating further, he observes that it "is an achievable society of political justice and economic equity birthed in and resulting in a relational culture. That society comes about in all its power when such a culture is centered in that nation's love for God". To successfully develop the theme of transforming Africa through an effective political leadership³, I have used the following main research question and seven subsidiary questions.

³ Political leadership and socio-political leadership are not always synonymous. However, two organisations studied in the thesis tend to consider them as synonymous. So, I also do the same after Assmann (1967:30) who states: "The realm of politics is everything embraced by the term "society", and not only formal relationships with the state. Everything in society has political dimension".

1.2 Research question

In the light of the foregoing, my Central Research Question is: How can the church contribute to leadership development for the transformation of Africa? The same question can be put as follows: How can the church contribute to the socio-political transformation of Africa through leadership development? Or again: What role can the church play to contribute to the development of a political leadership for the transformation of Africa? By the church I mean the African church, mainly, Protestant churches such as Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and so forth, especially, as organised in DR Congo into The Church of Christ of Congo, as they have been working together with African Operation to make an effective contribution.

As a researcher and church worker I investigate how the African church has been working in Africa to see how I can also contribute in order to help the people in this continent out of their spiritual, moral, economic and socio-political misery.

As mentioned earlier, African Operation is a church organisation⁴ that intends to work with African churches and beyond, in order to bring about a social transformation through the development of a transformational political leadership. I have described the origin, history and the development of this organisation as well as those of other organisations that work for the development of transformational leadership in the continent in Chapter 6. The following subsidiary questions have afforded me to develop the central question into an integrated research project. Subsequently, each of the following seven chapters of the thesis addresses one of the questions below to progressively demonstrate the role the African churches can play in order to contribute to the development of a leadership for the socio-political transformation in Africa.

1. What leadership theories are relevant for the development of an African leadership for socio-political transformation?
2. What is the public mission of the churches (in general), especially in relation to the development of leadership?
3. What is the context of DR Congo, particularly, in relation to the development of a transformational leadership?

⁴ By church or Christian organisations, I mean organisations supposed to be based on Christian principles and considered as such by the founders, e.g. (Operaf 2008:1).

4. Given the prevailing economic and socio-political climate in the continent, how can African Renaissance⁵ contribute to leadership development in the twenty-first century Africa?
5. What are the contributions of (Operaf) and (TMALI) to the development of political leaders in Africa?
6. Given leadership problems facing Africa, what kind of church leadership is needed to be able to develop the transformational leaders for the continent?
7. How can the African churches, especially the Church of Christ of Congo, develop their members into candidates fit for transformational public leadership?

Precise answers to these questions and their development into meaningful chapters in this thesis require fixing clear objectives; this is the point in the following section.

1.3 Aims of the Research

Acknowledging and specifying the objectives of this research is essential at this stage in order to enable me to work in a focused way. The objectives are therefore twofold: academic and strategic aims or objectives (Bak 2009:16).

My academic aim is to investigate and evaluate the contribution of African Operation, as a Church organisation, working for the development of an African leadership for social transformation. Having examined the contribution of African Operation in DR Congo, I then develop a constructive proposal with a view to the future, in which the contributions of other organisations, especially those of Thambo Mbeki African Leadership Institute (TMALI), involved in leadership development are integrated into an overall vision. In my eighth chapter I have made four main proposals on the role a church can play to contribute to leadership development for socio-political transformation in Africa in a comprehensive way. It also respects the unique nature of the African context, considering all the positive and negative influences undergone during decades of foreign domination and exploitation of Africans by African leaders, as well as the practical challenges the continent is facing today.

My strategic aim is firstly to interact with academics and church workers involved in leadership development so that the findings of this research may become fruitful for

⁵ This means African Renaissance Philosophy as expounded in Chapter 5. The question is prompted by the fact that African Union's programmes for socio-political transformation as well as TMALI's are informed and driven by this philosophy. The philosophy equally takes very seriously the African history of slave trade, colonisation, neo-colonisation and the consequences thereof.

leadership development in African communities. The strategic aim of my study is similar to that of Maluleke (1995:6), who identifies a Black Theology of Liberation as a framework of his study and argues: “This study seeks to ‘defend’ the Christian faith. However, such a defense is also a critique and a rejection of ..., narrow forms of Christianity”. I likewise “defend” Christianity by showing its relevance to transformative leadership development for a better African future, while I reject “narrow forms of Christianity” that limit themselves to merely looking for heavenly bliss and forgetting the mission of making true disciples of Christ, those who can be the salt of the earth and light of the world (Kalemba 2011:12).

Another dimension of my strategic aim is to counter and discourage the prophets of doom, who depict Africans as inhuman, useless and foolish people who cannot do anything for themselves as refuted by Abdulai (2001:25-26) who strongly argues against these prophets. Such prophets can be countered and discouraged by showing what pre-colonial Africans were and did as detailed, for example, in 2.4.4 and how things worsened later on colonialism (4.7.2). That can empower the discouraged church workers and concerned people to do what they can for the transformation of the African continent. The research conducted by Ramasamy (2004:128-130) shows that there was a general pessimism towards African Renaissance and that many church workers admitted that they did not have anything to do with socio-political life of their communities. Similarly, in my research on African elite, it was found that many of the statements of the elite groups in the church and in other organisations were pessimistic and self-destructive (Banza 2003:40). I encountered views like: “Black people have been cursed and cannot do anything constructive for socio-political transformation” (:40). In such cases, psychotherapy can be helpful (Van Rensburg 2007:61-62). Good objectives can be supported effectively when there good understanding of the rationale behind them; that is why the following section of the thesis explains the rationale and background of leadership development for socio-political transformation in the twenty-first African continent.

1.4 Background and rationale

It can be indicated that this section deals with the explanation of the context that gives rise to this research project, of the conditions which have led to proposing the research project and to defining the aims in the present way. The justification for the research project, my personal interest in the research project, motivations for the project, reasons for investigating the matter of leadership development for socio-political transformation, and contributions of this study to the current knowledge around the issue can also be provided here (Bak 2009:16-17). So, the section starts with personal background which also has an impact on this research project.

1.4.1 Personal background

This sub-section specifies where I am coming from and how my context and background have influenced me and impacted the research.

I am originally from the Democratic Republic of Congo. I went to school and completed my tertiary education and started working in the country. I spent almost all my schooling days and career life under a dictatorial regime led by President Joseph Mobutu Sese Seko. Though the country is naturally very rich in minerals, flora and fauna, admirable seasons and much other potential for better life, people's living standard remains miserably low. Despite this suffering, I remained indifferent and not really concerned by the suffering and poverty of the common people of my country. Then, I accepted Jesus Christ as personal Saviour and Lord and became a Christian in August 1983. I was then baptised and grew up spiritually within a Pentecostal and Charismatic environment. I early set myself free from limitations of denominationalism and worked thus with various congregations and denominations as I was still in my country. When I came to South Africa in 1994 I became part of the International Church of Pretoria that is an interdenominational congregation. The membership of this congregation is comprised mainly of African immigrants to South Africa: some of these are highly educated professionals; some others are simply easy victims of hardship foreigners can experience

abroad. This particular context of the congregation, its vision of empowering African elite for Christian praxis and the very way this vision was developed, started to draw my attention to the urgency of good leadership both for the church and the community at large. I then conducted a research for my Masters' degree on the topic of *Empowering African Elite for Christian Praxis: The Experience of ICP*. This same context also improved my interdenominational working. The vision of African Operation that is an offspring of the vision of empowering African elite for Christian praxis, which intends to train only African political leaders and prominent people to develop them into transformational leaders for the socio-political transformation of Africa, also raised my attention to see how such a vision could effectively feasible. African Operation is spearheaded by Dr. Tshilenga Pastor of the International Church of Pretoria.

Despite the time gone by and various influences undergone, I still remained less concerned by the sufferings of the people around me and their miserable plight. But hard living abroad, xenophobia experienced in South Africa, information about the bad role played by international politics, especially, by world and local leaders and the news about the misery of my own people behind me, became a real eye-opener that set me to reread the Bible and understand the negative consequences of having bad leadership to decide to work on the topic.

The considerable impact of spirituality on leadership development, my Pentecostal and or Charismatic experience, and more than twenty years of service in churches as intercessor or coordinator of intercession department have had a deep impact on my theology of leadership development for socio-political transformation. God of Jesus Christ and Satan as well as human beings are to me living realities that can play an active role in the lives of leaders and in socio-political life and transformation of communities. King David and prophet of God who prays for ethical and caring leadership for his people in Psalm 72:1-4 as well as Apostle Paul, who urges Ephesian Christians to instantly pray for everyone, for kings and all the people in authority so that they could lead peaceable and quiet lives in 1 Timothy 2:1-4 has much inspired my philosophy of leadership development and socio-political transformation.

1.4.2 Rationale for leadership for socio-political transformation

Leadership development for socio-political transformation seems to be of a huge interest in our twenty-first century. The Internet presents us with a wide variety of institutions dealing with leadership development such as African Leadership Council, Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute, Centre for Leadership Development and World Peace Foundation. Most universities nowadays have a department or at least a programme focusing on leadership development. I thus deemed important to learn about the theme and be part of those who are involved in leadership development debates in order also to bring my contribution to this huge enterprise.

This research comes in when a number of political leaders (Museveni from Uganda and Thabo Mbeki from South Africa) have expressed their conviction that churches have an important role to play in order to salvage morality and socio-political situation in the community. Speaking at the South African Christian Leadership Assembly (SACLA II), held in Pretoria on 07-12 July 2003, for instance, Thabo Mbeki encouraged church leaders to engage in the dialogue on moral and national issues. Ramasamy (2004:94) reports: “President Thabo Mbeki appealed to the churches to engage in dialogue on national issues. This was clearly a welcome invitation for churches to keep government leaders accountable”. In the light of this call from political leaders, I especially investigate ways in which churches can join hands with other institutions to develop the needed leadership for the advancement of this important socio-political project.

There are persistent calls for African leadership development that can serve socio-political transformation. Apart from Mbeki (2003:151), who considers the transformational leadership the *missing key*, a large crowd of other political leaders, researchers and common people of the community identify such a leadership development as an urgent need. Summarising the misdeeds of the postcolonial African leaders, for example, Abdulai (2001:74) states:

Unfortunately, postcolonial African leadership did not fare better than their colonial masters in their deeds when they took over power. They reproduced and perpetuated the worst aspects of mismanagement, greed, and elitism bequeathed by the colonial powers. Their numerous bad economic and social

policies, their neglect of agriculture, their roles in the fanning of the flames of ethnic conflicts are just a few of the missteps that characterized their rule which have caused some of Africa's political and economic crisis.

Drawing his conclusions on the prophetic responsibility of the church in relation to unethical and corrupt political leadership such ours today in Africa, Ramasamy (2004:110) argues:

Furthermore, incompetence on the part of politicians must be dealt with. They must be replaced with men and women who uphold the value of integrity, even in the face of oppression. The prophets of God were always calling for leaders who would be righteous in their dealings with people.

Politicians, especially those who have left office in honourable and dignified fashion, have organised themselves to be part of the solution for the transformation of Africa. Led by Ketumile Masire, the second president of Botswana, current and past presidents and prime ministers agreed to confront Africa's pathology of poor stewardship by deeds as well as words. They have thus established an African Leadership Council, promulgated a Code of African Leadership, and proposed a series of courses to train their successors in the art of good leadership and governance. This council and its code and training programme are attempts to propagate a greater awareness of good leadership, to build on the Mandela-Khama-Ramgoolam model, and to invigorate African leadership capacity almost from scratch (Rotberg 2004:12). Mandela is the first democratic president of South Africa; Khama the first democratic president of Botswana; and Ramgoolam the former leader of Mauritius.

As researchers in African communities we can also contribute our share to the transformation of the continent. Besides, African leadership as well as many of the leaders of other world communities need, and generally make claims of belonging to and being servants of the God almighty. Accordingly, Rodney (1982:126) reports, for instance:

At the head of the Rwanda kingdom was the Mwami. As with so many other African rulers, his powers were sanctioned by religious beliefs and his person surrounded by religious rituals. Feudal kings in Europe often tried to get their

subjects to believe that royal authority emanated from God and that the king therefore ruled by “divine right.” Subjects of African kings like those of the Mwami of Rwanda often accepted something quite close to be based on real power, and the Mwami of Rwanda did not overlook that fact.

This claim on the part of the ruling people to rule through God’s power is more empowering for the church to come in and positively influence these socio-political leaders, where we can, with the needed transformation power. If this need for spiritual power and protection is not met with the help of the God Almighty, the Maker of the whole world, an evil one will be used to meet the need. Along these lines Silvosio (1994:67) observes:

... the emphasis on praying for all in authority is because of the influence of demonic powers on them. Like ivy plants clinging to walls, demonic powers attach themselves to governments and those in positions of prominence in order to influence by proxy.

This involvement of the leading people with occult forces, especially with the western ones, sometimes comes with a lot of negative socio-political consequences, misbehaviours, destruction, and wickedness because of the negative influence from the western “godfathers”. Commenting on the adherence of African leaders to Free-Masonry and its consequence, the website <http://en.afrik.com/article16445.html> observes: “Their adherence to this society is more often than not the cause of misfortune for their various countries”. Renou (2001:421-422) takes it further, linking African heads of states involved in Free-Masonry to the various human right abuses and criminal acts they committed under the protection of their “godfathers”, French authorities with whom they attended the same occult movements for decades.

Apart from Old Testament scriptures such as Jeremiah 29:7 where the prophet asks the people to build up their family lives and to seek the peace of the city to which God had brought them captive, the New Testament presents us with a great deal of passages that teach people how to develop good family and socio-political values. Colossians 3:18-25, for example, insists on developing good household values for good

and peaceful family living; and Acts 2:42-47 and 4:32-36 show how good spiritual and social values of sharing the Word of God, food, time, and life together were developed and practised.

Historically, the church has been at the base of the foundation of a great number of institutions such as schools, universities, hospitals, and other organisations that contribute to the development of humans and the building of their communities. At this point, it is important to indicate that the first and best schools, universities and hospitals or clinics in DR Congo as well as in most African countries were built by or thanks to church initiatives and support (Hakiza 2004:231,235, 245).

Being aware of the reluctance of the African Christians to contribute to socio-political life in their communities and picking up the highest point in this life, Edet (1994: 124) encourages them saying: “Christians should not shun politics but rather get involved in order to season the world since ... They are ‘*The salt of the earth* ...” Being a citizen of the Democratic Republic of Congo, a country very rich in natural resources, but whose population has been impoverished through poor leadership for more than two hundred years (Chapter 4), has been inspirational for my embarking on this research. Xenophobic challenges experienced in South Africa as a foreigner were a real eye-opener that also prepared me towards the understanding of the value of having a country with a good political leadership. The vision of African Operation that focuses on evangelising African political leaders and elite, intending to train and develop them into leaders for the socio-political transformation of Africa, played a very decisive role in raising my attention to start examining the feasibility of this vision. The realisation of the vision requires important literature support as described in the following section.

1.5 Literature for Key Concepts

The following literature is mainly about the socio-political transformation of Africa, the role of the church and development of political leaders. Encarta 2007 explains *socio-political* as which is relating to or involving both social and political factors. In a narrow way the adjective *political* restricts itself to concepts such as government and state.

However, it can be specified here that the adjective has a broader meaning than mere relationship with state-citizenry, government or politicians.

1.5.1 Socio-political Transformation

Disputing against the narrow meaning of the term *politics* as sometimes used by theologians and social scientists, Assmann (1976:30) argues: “The realm of politics is everything embraced by the term “society”, and not only formal relationships with the state. Everything in society has political dimension”. Then, he maintains:

The narrow view of politics as “party politics” has to be superseded, if not dispensed with, if we are to arrive at a definition of political action.”

Without denying – but, on the contrary, stressing – the importance of personal development, and so inter-personal and small-group relationships, all gaps between this private world and what happens in the broader context of society as a whole must be filled. Politicizing private life doesn’t mean threatening its precious inner core of personal intensity, but making it conscious of its true historical character...

Every human act, even the most private, possesses not only a social content (because it transcends the individual), but a political content (because that transcending of the individual is always related to change or stability in society) (Assmann 1976:31-32).

Therefore, socio-political transformation has to do with processes of social and political change at various levels which can be carried out by transformed people of the community, especially the leaders. The Institute for Contextual Theology (2000) explicates transformation as the fundamental change of the social, economic, civic and religious structures which thwart the potential development of the efforts of people in the context of South Africa. Efforts for transformation have been expressed in various ways and actions in different parts of the world; some of these are in form of education programmes, theologies and so forth. That is why this thesis considers that real socio-political transformation starts with the transformation of humans spiritually, intellectually, psychologically and socially.

Speaking of the commonality between theology and development, de Gruchy (2003) observes that there is clear link between Christian faith and social development

and invites Christians to be actively and positively involved in the fight against poverty. He also links the assets the poor have with the role they are supposed to play, (but they were not playing yet) for the transformation of their conditions. Freire's *Education for Critical Consciousness* (1973) makes practical suggestions that can also assist in educating the common people differently, empowering them to have confidence in themselves and become more creative and effective contributors to public social life. In his *Theology of Liberation* Gutiérrez (2004) indicates that as Christians, our freedom supposes going out of our selfishness and of all structures that support our selfishness. The fullness of this liberty is true communication with God and with others; a real understanding of what is involved in the opposition between oppressed and dominant countries will then lead to effective liberty of humanity as a process of human emancipation at various levels.

Kä Mäna (1993)'s *Théologie Africaine pour Temps de Crise: Christianisme et Reconstruction de l'Afrique*. This is a book that introduces Kä Mäna's theology of reconstruction. Kä Mäna is the father of the Francophone theology of reconstruction (Mwambazambi 2008:143). In this book he mobilises African conscience and energy in order to work for the possible transformation of the continent. This conscience and energy mobilisation is equally essentially for this research. But this thesis intends to include both Africans and global players of the church and those of the broader world community because of the roles they have been playing for the building up and the destruction of the constructive future of the continent. Through his *From Liberation to Reconstruction* (1995) J.N.K. Mugambi also advocates a theology of reconstruction for Africa. He recommends this theology to be reconstructive rather than destructive; inclusive rather than exclusive; proactive rather than reactive; complementary rather than competitive; integrative rather than disintegrative; he is equally said to be the father of this theology for the English-speaking Africa. All such reconstruction efforts are, at the same time, expected to be aware of the day-to-day African challenges of neo-colonialism, dictatorship, human rights abuse and the like, in order to fight and overcome them.

1.5.2 Role of the Church in socio-political transformation

Some social scientists and theologians including church workers hold that churches have no role to play in socio-political transformation of communities as indicated by Aboum (1996:99). However, abundant evidence proves that churches constitute a considerable force which can bring about a deep socio-political transformation; for example, detailed reports produced by Sakala (1996:117-129) and Rakotonirainy (1996:153-178) on the contribution of the churches to socio-political transformation in their respective countries are very eloquent. It can be emphasised here that by the role of the church, this thesis underscores the contribution of the church to leadership development and socio-political transformation as a globalising and transnational organisation (Bellagamba 1992:33-34, 91). Speaking of the role of the church for good leadership development and socio-political transformation, Ramasamy (2004:92) states:

Of course the churches have a role to play here. Firstly, they need to help governments and peoples who seek to embrace and implement these values. Secondly, as part of their prophetic witness, churches must hold the leaders accountable. It becomes necessary for them to speak out against tyrannical rule and all forms of oppression and exploitation.

In the same thesis the author shows later that many churches could not play their role effectively because their leaders failed to understand that they had also socio-political responsibilities to assume in the larger community. Consequently, he suggests some practical steps which can be taken to be successful both within and outside the church; one of these concerns how African ubuntu and the gospel can valuably be used to combat antisocial pathologies and develop needed values for socio-political transformation.

In his *Spirituality and Justice* Donal Dorr (1990) describes the harmful behaviours of the elite in general and proposes some remedies and practical actions the church can take to empower the underdog or the victims of these exploiting people for transformation.

S. Hauerwas & W.H. Willimon (1990)'s *Resident Aliens* suggests that the role of the church consists first of all in practising the politics of the church; coming to the understanding of the death and resurrection of Christ and living and leading as church.

E.K. Tshilenga (2005) explains in his *Collective Sins in Sub-Saharan Africa* that the church has an important role to play in helping Christians to combat collective sins in their lives and communities. The fight against collective sins in the continent can be successfully only if church leaders have won it in their own lives.

J.N.K. Mugambi (1995) posits that the pulpit can be used as central medium for the transmission of new ideas and change of attitudes, a viable instrument for the restoration of people's confidence and social transformation.

W. Duewel (1995)'s *Revival Fire* also recognises that the church has a role to play in the larger community. He speaks especially of the power of the prayer to bring about revival in the church and moral regeneration and transformation in the community at large. He uses then a number of revival examples throughout history to make his case more palpable, ranging from little villages and towns to cities, nations and entire continents. However, the book seems to fall short of the comprehensive and holistic aspects of the mission work in the community. Praying for the missionaries and the mission work, for people and their community to be transformed is good, but it is essential to teach and educate those people in order to prepare and ready them for a sustainable transformation of their lives and of their environment.

P.M. Miller (1969)'s *Equipping for Ministry in East Africa*; the book is a desperate cry of higher and middle class Africans to the church for the resolutions of their spiritual and socio-political problems. It describes how hundreds of interviews were conducted among East African civil servants, civil society leaders and government leaders, who badly needed training and leadership of the church for social and political transformation, and among the intellectual youth who wished to use their careers as a ministry both to God and to their community. The interviews conducted were a wonderful job, but in the end the church seemed not really ready to take up the challenge and respond positively to this call. So, the results of the interviews have just been left lying in the drawers and shelves of the offices.

F. Mutombo-Mukendi (2011) in his *La Théologie Politique Africaine*, after analysing the alarming socio-political situation of Africa and the exogenous and endogenous causes of the problem, insists that the African church and the leaders have a very important role to play for the socio-political transformation of the continent. But he laments the issue of poor and unethical leadership both in the church and political arena; he then observes that developing ethical and god-fearing Christians can secure having “spiritual and moral” church leaders who might make the practice of an effective political theology and the subsequent socio-political transformation in the continent possible.

E. Katongole (2011)’s *The Sacrifice of Africa* insists that church must primarily play its role of being the “politics of God”, producing and nurturing god-fearing Christians while being true salt of the earth and light of the world. Considering the life of both the African church and the leaders and that of the politicians, he proposes that the colonial scripts which still applied in the continent be changed completely through organising transformational activities outside the political world. And that the organising of these activities should be the responsibility of the African church. Curiously, most of the examples of the transformational activities used in his book were led by individual Christians and not by church leaders and their churches as institutions. The question can be: Where were the African church and most of the leaders? And what can this church do to develop many of such strategic people?

The findings of the works above and many others from the subsequent literature can be analysed and used in this research to propose practical suggestions which can help solve the problem and meet the challenges of good leadership and socio-political transformation in Africa.

1.5.3 Developing political leaders

A development project as well as any other project which does not have an effective leadership to carry it out efficiently cannot succeed. Linthicum (1991:93) observes: “Without leadership development, everything you have done will pass away. But with it, the future is constantly being created anew for the people of your community”. So, development of an effective transformational leadership is essential. Intending to

contribute to leadership development, Gerhard van Rensburg proposes a framework for African Renaissance leaders through his book, *The Leadership Challenge in Africa*, published in 2007. Based on his experience as a theologian, especially, one who has worked intensely in the field of leadership he understands the deep connections between culture, psychological restoration, spirituality and leadership development. As for him, one of the most important issues to consider in developing African leaders is their spirituality and psychology. The author argues that leadership is not just an intellectual journey, but it is a symbolic, emotional and spiritual journey. Spirituality of a traditional leader is most important: the existence of God and the role this God plays to provide protection, guidance and inspiration helps the leader to understand the primary responsibility in the community (:58). The “African traditional God” and the “Christian God” is it the same God? This thesis cannot answer this question here; but rather it can check later whether Christianity has taken seriously the development of spirituality in their leadership development. However, Muluma (2002)’s *Eglise face à la gestion de ...* suggests that the lack of “Christian spirituality” in Congolese socio-political leaders has failed the whole nation socio-politically. As for the psychological restoration of the Africans and their leaders, Van Rensburg (2007) suggests that given that through force, Western education and missionary proselytisation, the colonialists subordinated traditional African authority and the values and norms of African communalism in the minds of Africans, a restoration is needed. Therefore, African people need messages which give them hope and self-confidence. The question can be: How much do the African church and leaders value the idea of restoring their people psychologically? Francis Fanon (1991) seems more concerned about such a restoration.

D.G. Kalonji (2000)’s *La Libération des nations par L’Église (Liberating nations through Church Activity)* is a book that describes what the author thinks to be the responsibility of the church as a liberator of nations. He suggests that liberation includes the freeing of people spiritually, culturally, socially, economically and politically. The author describes some practical activities he had started doing to bring both the leaders and their followers to political conversion in his country, especially, in Kinshasa, capital city of DR Congo. He also had special programmes which addressed a progressive development of the socio-political leadership for his people. This can be used for both the

elite and all other Christians, to politically empower them in a Christian way. The book expounds in detail the different political responsibilities of a Christian and their limitations for the community. However, the book does not show how to lead people to spiritual, intellectual and moral conversion⁶. It equally ignores social and psychological abnormalities as inferiority/superiority complexes and the way to treat them.

T.M. Monsma (1992)'s *Great Models from three Continents, Cities ...* speaks of what Mission to the World did in Acapulco. It is reported that, seeing the important role the high-class people could play in the positive socio-political transformation of the community, the missionaries of Mission to the World, which is a mission arm of the Presbyterian Church of America (PCA), did something I deem most advantageous. They then initiated a rapidly growing work in the city of Acapulco, Peru. Mission to the World then chose to target middle-class citizens and eventually to use them to minister to the needs of the poor. The reasoning is that if the gospel could penetrate the richer classes through the biblical teaching concerning justice, compassion, and concern for others, then the middle and upper class believers will use their position of power and influence to change the way things are done in the city. They will remove the abuses and support the ministries that will help the poor. The skills and resources of the middle and upper classes, once they have been committed to Christ's cause and kingdom, will be of great value in ministering among the poor and establishing churches.

African Operation as a church organisation is committed to proclaiming the gospel to African leaders, elites, managers and decision makers for their own transformation, and to ultimately mobilise them for the transformation of their nations and that of the whole continent

R.J. Downey (1989)'s *Old Testament Patterns of Leadership Training* deals exclusively with the leadership that was developed that time. It also compares this training and development of prophets, priests and kings to that of the leadership of the church of the 1980's, especially, that of the leadership of the church in Zaire, present DR Congo. He criticises this development of church leadership of being irrelevant, over-

⁶ In this thesis the terms such as intellectual, moral and socio-political or political conversion do not always have church/religious connotations. TMALI, though it is not a church organisation, some of its programmes implicitly pursue dimensions of such conversion/transformation. There are cases where non-church people are called "moral leadership" (Burns 1978:4).

intellectual and almost useless for spiritual and socio-political good of the church and that of the community in which it operates.

However, the book fails to suggest a clear model of the leadership that could be of use to the church and the community. It does not either propose how to develop it.

L. Mbigi' (2005)'s *The Spirit of African Leadership* in this book Professor Mbigi investigates the wealth of leadership knowledge that Africa has to share with the global community. Building on a culture with centuries of indigenous knowledge, he develops coherent and practical leadership frameworks and principles that will assist leaders to nurture the emotional, spiritual and cultural resources of their organisations.

The focus of his leadership transformation is around three key areas of human existence, which are:

- Economics, which calls for creation of societal value, wealth and fraternity, or the brotherhood of humanity.
- Politics, which involves the creation of influence and power relations, as well as human rights. The latter may require creating a measure of acceptable comparative equality that should always be characterised by liberty or freedom.
- Culture, whose pillars are education, art and religion.

These three areas are of considerable value and deserve a special place in leadership development. However, I consider that the development of personal and interpersonal values such as self-esteem or self confidence, compassion and love for the neighbour, spirit of free service in individuals is essential for the proper transformation of their community. For people who do not respect and love themselves can hardly respect or love others; consequently, their culture, skills in politics and economics are scarcely used to reach the maximum benefits of their community.

J.D. Walters (1987)'s *The art of supportive leadership: A practical guide ...* The book has been written after a long experience in leadership teaching and various leadership positions. The book offers a sound, practical, and effective advice on leadership; it is useful not only in business, but also in personal life. It provides specific insight on how the quality of leadership can be improved regardless of one's particular position or capacity in life. It is thus an important tool for becoming a better person, a better leader and a better trainer. It may be very useful for workshop on leadership

training and development. Given that the book gives clear, supportive and intuitive guidance, it can be useful in educational setting as well. The book is classic in its simplicity, yet it is very profound in its message, which makes it usable with different groups of people regardless of their occupations, social strata and education. Being too general, the book could not tell us how practically its principles could be used neither in the specific context of Africa, nor in that of the African church in order to develop a transformative leadership in the continent. That will then be my business in the chapters to come where we try to use Christian and proposed principles adequately in conjunction with African culture.

D. Smith (1996)'s *Empowering Ministry: Ways to grow in effectiveness*; the book distills then the appropriate practical information about cultivating an effective ministry stance from the voices of several hundred highly effective congregational leaders, offering thus readers the benefit of a rich pastoral experience. Smith deals therefore with how pastors can empower others, as well as with how they have been and continue to be empowered themselves. He also discusses the requisite skills needed for motivating and energising others. As the book was based on an experience of about ten years of field work and interviews in different cities and towns of USA, it offers somewhat a realistic look of the effective ministry in America or again in the Western world. Even the specific steps the reader can take to grow and nurture an effective ministry are included in the book. Smith equally describes the character and activities of an effective empowering pastor: what she/he has to do and how this needs to be done. He also explains the importance of empowering people and describes the particularity of empowering as a ministry. The concern of the book is mainly about the development of church leadership that can effectively empower people. The book fails to go further to reach the level of community and its leadership. It does not deal with the development of the socio-political leadership for the transformation of the community. The study was done in the United States of America more than ten years ago; though some of the findings are of the common spiritual and cultural value for the church everywhere, some others are not. So, my next responsibility will be to try to find out what the African church needs to be able to develop good church leaders that can allow the development of the leadership Africa needs for its socio-political transformation.

Thabo Mbeki (1998)'s *Africa – The time has come*

Until the new South African government in 1994, Thabo Mbeki worked extensively as a speech-writer of the leaders and the organs of the ANC. This job helped him acquire insights for the future of the nation and develop a vision for national and continental transformation. *Africa - The time has come* brings together a collection of forty-two speeches by the then Deputy President of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, who is now the former president of the country. Most of these speeches were delivered after the elections of April 1999. The speeches reflect a remarkable consistency and logic in Mbeki's thoughts on issues such as socio-economic justice, the alleviation of poverty, the opening up of opportunities for national prosperity, the need for development, and the achievement of reconciliation through transformation – all of which are recurrent themes throughout his speeches. This vision of Mbeki for South Africa is coupled with his devotion to and identification with the African continent and his dream of African renaissance. Seemingly, the speeches contained in this collection bear witness to Mbeki's vision of fundamental change that would transform South Africa into a just, non-racial and non-sexist democracy. The speeches raise many of the strategic and tactical questions that new South Africa should answer with regard to its democracy and its international policies. None of these speeches are concerned either with Christian theology or with its mission in Africa, but rather sometimes considers the church and some of its activities as negative contributors to the good of the continent. My work will consist then in seeing what is really true in this criticism in order to propose positive theories for the mission of the church in Africa and also which of his own proposed theories are profitable to the research for the development of the African leadership and the transformation of the continent.

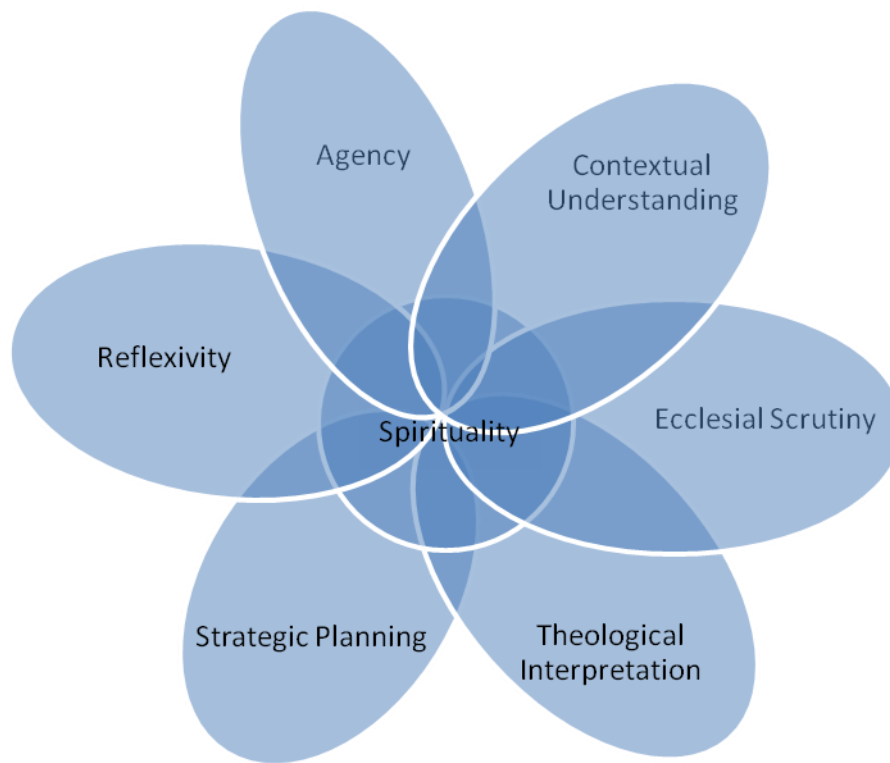
Thabo Mbeki (2003)'s *Africa- Define yourself* as well as his previously discussed book, *Africa - The time has come*, is also a collection of the author's speeches. But, here Mbeki speaks specifically of the necessity of having or developing an African leadership that should be bold and imaginative in order to see the necessary transformation happen. Good literature review needs proper research design and methodology to reach desired results; that is the business of the section 6 below.

1.6 Theoretical Framework

This section defines the missiological praxis, design, methodology, selection of organisation for study, and other underlying theories applicable in this research. It provides useful information on the research interviews as used in this study and on how the writing of the thesis can be carried out.

1.6.1 Missiological or praxis cycle

The cycle as presented in this thesis has been inspired by Kritzinger & Saayman (2011:4-6). In its origin this praxis matrix is a mobilising framework intended to help a committed group of Christians to contribute to transformation in their context. It is also possible to use it as an analytical framework to do research on the transformational attempts of others (Kritzinger 2010:10). Prior to this, Kritzinger observes that the seven-dimensional matrix developed out of the three-dimensional See-Judge-Act approach, then into the classical four-dimensional pastoral circle of Insertion-Analysis-Reflection-Planning according to Holland & Henriot (1992). Cochrane, De Gruchy & Petersen (1991) developed the latter into the seven-dimensional circle as shown below (Kritzinger 2010:9-10). This circle has been used here to explore the transformational praxis of (theory-and-practice) of the organisations involved in leadership development for socio-political transformation and in the organisation of this work. Sometimes, only relevant and most important dimensions for a specific analysis, as in the case of Operaf and TMAI in Chapter 6, have been used. However, all the seven have been used to sum up and present the research findings in the ninth chapter. The chapters of this thesis have also been organised after the dimensions of the missiological praxis. Its different dimensions have been represented and explained as follows.



Spirituality: Here, it is about dominant motivations, religious visions and worldviews that guide inner actions in the community (Kritzinger 2010:10). A spirituality at the heart of a particular praxis can best be characterised as contemplative, sacramental, devotional, ‘faith-seeking understanding’, Pentecostal or ‘deeds of justice’, or as a combination of (some of) these. I am from a Pentecostal background, but my spirituality can be characterised like a combination of the spiritualities as listed above. Spirituality has been highlighted by putting it at the heart of the circle as a distinctive feature which distinguishes mission from other forms of transformative praxis or activism in society; it is basically driven by a spiritual motivation (Kritzinger & Saayman 2011:4-5). That is also why it is the central feature all through this research.

Agency: In this area we explore questions like: Who is the person (or the community) involved in mission? What social, economic or class position do they occupy in society? How do they relate to the receivers of mission in that particular context? Who are the interlocutors (significant discussion partners) who shape their approach? What is

their sense of identity; what stories do they tell about themselves? Concerning the organisations which have been chosen for study, these dimensions have been explored in the sixth chapter of the thesis. As concerns this study, I am an agent who conduct investigations in leadership development for socio-political transformation. Kalemba (2008:23) suggests that personal experience is an important resource for the researcher. So, my years of personal experience as teacher, church leader and of discussion with people involved in leadership development, as detailed later on, have played a special role in my collecting, interpreting and recording information. I have had many discussions on leadership development with both Operaf International President and Operaf Coordination authorities of DR Congo. I did the same with the relevant leaders of the TMALI office in Pretoria Central as detailed later on.

As for my use of research materials, I am one of those African Christians who think as Kinoti and Waliggo (1997:3) saying: “The Bible is the scriptural pillar of Christianity. For the church and Christianity, it is of supreme authority”. Though I may consider and use many resources from theologians and scholars from various fields of knowledge valuably, the Bible remains an essential authority that guides my theology. Without serious reference to the scriptures, this thesis would become a mere socio-economic-political work and not a missiological one (Mwambanzambi 2008:36; Kritzinger 2010:11). In their *Biblical Hermeneutics in the African Instituted Churches*, Nthamburi and Waruta (1997:51) observe: “For African Christians, the Bible has come to take the place of the traditional ancestor whose authority cannot be disputed”. Many Christians in DR Congo also view the Bible the same way though practising its teachings is often difficult. To me over-intellectual theology as suggested by (Kretzschmar 2006:349) remains sterile for leadership development. This dissertation will therefore refer to selected Biblical texts where relevant. Contributions of all the resources from various social sciences and field works have therefore secured the realisation of this missiological work which can propose a solution for the transformation of African communities, both Christian and non-Christian.

Contextual understanding: It is about the analysis of the context to understand what is happening or has happened. Questions can then be asked, for example, “How do the agents (community) of mission understand their context: the social, political,

economic and cultural factors that influence the situation in which they live and work? How do they “read the signs of the times”, discerning the negative from positive powers at work in their society? What analytic “tools” do they use to do that? Can they articulate their biases and interests, and are they aware how those influence their understanding of the context?”

Ecclesial scrutiny: This dimension is about how the agents or the community of mission assess the past actions of the church(es) in their context. It is also about how the agents are aware of the history of the church(es) and other religious communities in that context and the influence they have on the present situation. It is equally about how they relate to the church(es) that are active in that community. Operaf agents have been interested in the history of the church and its activities as well as in the African life in general as detailed in Chapter 6. But those of TMALI have been more interested in the life of the African communities than that of the church because of their own interests and approaches.

As an agent doing research, I have been equally interested in the life and activities of the church and those of the African communities. Speaking of church and mission, Bosch (1991:374) considers that by its nature, after being called out of the world, the church has been sent back into the world. Consequently, church and mission belong together; a church without mission or a mission without church, are contradictions. That is why I also consider important to investigate into the mission of the church to make better practical contributions. And later on, commenting on a mission towards a comprehensive salvation down the page, he explains:

Missionary literature and practice emphasize that we should find a way beyond every schizophrenic position and minister to people in their total need, that we should involve individual as well as society, soul and body, present and future in our ministry of salvation (:374).

This is why my approach has also considered integrating materials from various fields of human knowledge that can contribute to the effective development of a leadership that can secure real transformation in the continent.

Interpreting the tradition: This dimension is also called theological interpretation. Theological reflection consists in the particular way people read the Bible, interpret their religious traditions and reflect in relation to the specific situation of or challenges facing the community. As tradition interpretation this dimension defines the source of authority and term of reference concerning values, spiritualities and ideologies; this is typical of secular organisations such as TMAli and others, for example.

The following are possible questions for this dimension: How do the agents (community) of mission interpret Scripture and the Christian tradition in their particular context? How do their sense of identity and agency, their contextual understanding and their ecclesial scrutiny or term of reference concerning values, spiritualities and ideologies influence their contextual theology and the shape of their “local” theology of mission?

I view the Christian God as a “perfectionist” one. Though he knows that humans are not perfect, he invites and expects them to be perfect because of their new life in Christ and of the assistance of the Holy Spirit. Matthew 5:48 specifically urges: “Therefore you shall be perfect, just as your Father in heaven is perfect”. A careful reading of the preceding verses from the 21 to 47 suggests clearly that moral and spiritual perfection is implied in the passage. Commenting the verse 48, MacArthur (1997:1402) observes: “Though this standard is impossible to meet, God could not lower it without compromising His own perfection. He who is perfect could not set an imperfect standard of righteousness”. And church leadership such as apostles, prophets, evangelists, pastors and teachers have been appointed to help Christians grow up to the full stature of Christ according to Ephesians 4:11-13. Here MacArthur states: “God wants every believer to manifest the qualities of His Son, who is Himself the standard for their spiritual maturity and perfection”. Accordingly, 1 Peter 1:15 says: “Instead, be holy in all that you do, just as God who called you is holy”. So, “anti-perfectionist” philosophies cannot apply in thesis.

Discernment for action: It is also called strategic planning. This point concerns the planning, strategising and making decisions for actions that can transform the community in relation to the challenge(s). It thus concerns concrete faith projects put in place to change the displeasing situation of the community (Kritzinger 2010:11). What kind of

methods, activities or projects do the agents (community) of mission employ or design in their attempts to erect signs of God's reign in that context? How do they relate to other religious groups and non-governmental organisations that are active in their community? What aims do they pursue – in terms of personal transformation, the “planting or extension of the church, or the transformation of the society at large? The organisations' strategic plans for action have been analysed in the sixth chapter while my strategising is the eighth. In this chapter mine plays the role which is more of mobilising than analysing.

Reflexivity: What is the interplay between the different dimensions of the community's mission praxis? Do they succeed in holding together these dimensions of praxis? How do they reflect on their prior experiences and modify their praxis by learning from their mistakes and achievements? How do all the dimensions of praxis relate to each other in these agents of transformation? The following section introduces the delimitation of the scope of the study.

1.6.2 Research design

Two organisations involved in leadership development have been selected for study and interviews have been conducted with the leaders of the organisations to know what kind of programmes have been used in the development of the transformational leaders the continent needs. The programmes have been analysed to determine their specific contributions to the work of leadership development and the qualitative approach has been used to evaluate the data collected. John W. Creswell's suggestion concerning definitions of terms in qualitative studies has been considered in this thesis. There is no section specifically devoted to definitions of key terms; however, the terms have been defined as they emerged in the thesis (Creswell 1994:107). Explaining the rationale behind his using the qualitative research method, Mngomezulu (2006:23) observes that “the emphasis is on the presentation of qualitative data from a variety of sources, not just a dispassionate presentation of statistical data as would have been the case with the quantitative research method”. As suggested by Creswell (1994:145), Hofstee (2006:114) and (Mouton 2006:95) some field works have also taken place. Hofstee (2006:113) advises: “You do not explain the details of how you are going to implement the techniques/research designs here. That comes in the methodology section”. So, the next

subsection is about the methodology where further details on the research design can be offered.

1.6.3 Research methodology

As already indicated in the research design, the methodology consists in explaining the selection of the organisations for study, collection of the materials, conducted interviews and in interpreting the data at hand before noting down the necessary information. The database of the library of the University of South Africa provided me with most of the documentation I needed for the development of various aspects of the study. It was used to find out relevant books and articles for the thesis. I regularly used keywords to find my documentation on the African church, church leadership, political leadership, on the history of DR Congo or of Africa. Sometimes my promoter and subject librarian provided me with the lists of the needed literature. I got most of the materials on Operaf from the office of Operaf International President in Pretoria. Materials on TMALI were collected either from the Internet or from the office of the organisation in Pretoria.

After collecting information from the library, a critical and historic-analytic approach has been used. The critical analysis has allowed a critical interpretation of economic, cultural, psychological and of other important social data, which can explain why the current leadership is not transformational and suggest the way forward towards the development of a transformational political leadership.

The data collected on church missions, leadership development, African socio-political situations and on the specific context of DR Congo were studied thanks to an interpretative and qualitative approach in order to describe facts and draw the necessary conclusions. Historical aspects of the study have allowed, for example, the understanding of the context of DR Congo, different agents who played good as well as bad roles which have brought the people of the land and the leadership to the present socio-political situation. The same has afforded to gain historical understanding of what African leaders have gone through, as well as their people, their church and socio-political structures. Following the observations from the analysis of the context of DR Congo, specifically, its leadership through history, I have been able to rethink what kind of leadership the continent needs and how the church in concert with other institutions can cooperate for

the development of the needed leadership for socio-political transformation. Hofstee (2006:115) suggests that the methodology section or subsection be broken down into, for example, research instruments, data and analysis. But for the practical reasons, the methodology subsection has been broken down into the following: selection of organisations for study, analysis of data, observation and participation, and interviews.

1.6.3.1 Selection of organisations for study

Given that leadership development for socio-political transformation is not the preserve of the African churches and that all socio-political leaders are not Christians or at least church-goers, a church organisation (Operaf) and a secular one have been selected for study. The church organisation has been chosen on the basis of its wider involvement in leadership development in Africa and its possible achievements. The secular organisation is, in fact, a higher education institution whose training programmes are driven by African Union and NEPAD's capacity building curricula for the development of the transformational leadership for the socio-political transformation of the whole continent (www.unisa.ac.za). The choice of an academic organisation has been motivated by the fact that, in general, education institutions provide most leaders to the community; the institution may be organised and led by religious organisations or by secular ones. Consequently, the education institutions can be considered to have more specialised programmes geared up for the needed leadership for the socio-political transformation of the continent. Given that there is no such a secular institution in DR Congo, which works for the development of leaders for the socio-political transformation of both the country and the whole Africa, TMALI has been selected as it intends to develop a transformational leadership for the entire continent.

1.6.3.2 Analysis of data

To underline the importance of analysis of data, Hofstee (2006:148) observes: "Evidence usually takes the form of data. But data without analysis has no meaning in and of itself. Only when you analyse data, and use that analysis in order to substantiate a point, does it become evidence". So, the analysis of both organisations under study and of the

programmes they have designed for leadership development has been carried out. The analysis of these organisations has been carried out through dimensions of the missiological praxis as detailed later on. It can also be specified here that analysing a programme of an organisation does not mean examining the details of each and every element or topic of the programme. For example, Operaf proposes long lists of topics and/or names of Bible characters to study; only aspects evincing contributions and how those contributions can be made can be dealt with in this thesis. The contents of their programmes have been analysed to see their particular contributions to the development of a transformational leadership. The evaluation of the contributions has also been done thanks to their field results, and especially, according to the proposals for the appropriate development of an African leadership for socio-political transformation in the continent as made explicit in 2.5.

The analysis of aspects of TMALI's training programmes, especially, those designed for leadership development has been considered in this study. Given that this organisation operates from a university institution and that huge academic programmes are used, only specific programmes designed for the development of the transformational leadership can be analysed in this research. The thesis restricts thus the study of the programmes of these organisations only to those aspects directly related to leadership development for socio-political transformation such as those dealing with cultural psychotherapy, intellectual, moral and socio-political transformation. This is also why the analysis of contributions revolves around the six contribution areas proposed in 2.5.

1.6.3.3 Observation and participation

Conferences and seminars are an integral part of the training programmes for both Operaf and TMALI. I have attended Operaf training programmes seminars and conferences, having thus many opportunities to discuss with trainers or speakers and trainees. After attending Operaf conferences of October 2010 and November 2011, I have been awarded Operaf certificate of qualified trainers for political leaders. I have been often invited to attend TMALI conferences and I regularly receive copies of TMALI important conferences and/or speeches from the TMALI office in Pretoria.

1.6.3.4 Research interviews

As seen in appendices at the end of the thesis, I have also used questionnaires for interviews with people from the two African organisations which are involved in leadership development for socio-political transformation. Face-to-face interviews were used. Given that the questions to be asked aimed at determining specific contributions of organisations in terms of the programmes used to develop the needed transformational leadership, they were asked specifically to leaders of the organisations. For example, only the International President of Operaf and the National Coordination authorities of Operaf DR Congo were interviewed for this organisation. And only TMALI's leaders in charge of research and training programmes were interviewed. The leaders were used for interviews because these could better explain the contents of their programmes and why a specific programme was used.

Interviewing leaders from a church organisation and from a non-church, i.e., academic organisation sometimes is not easy; though both are involved in developing leaders for socio-political transformation, their internal structures and programme differences compelled me to design and ask questions which were not always the same. Because the literature of an organisation could provide most of the needed answers while those of the other could not. A copy of the letter of introduction from my promoter, of Informed consent as well as copies of interviews with the leaders of the organisations are found in appendixes 1-4 and 6. Appendixes 5 and 7 deal with profiling discussions with Operaf and TMALI students to assess their attitudes, behaviours and appreciation of their training programmes. Though these have been discussed under research interviews subsection, they were conducted more like discussions rather than interviews. The discussions especially focused on aspects of the training programmes as proposed in 2.5 which address issues such as academic training, ethical education after African culture, psychological restoration, and anti-recolonisation preparation.

Interviewees were given assurance that their information could be treated with complete confidentiality and their names could be used in the thesis only with their express permission.

1.7 Delimitation of Study Area

The title of this thesis is: *Transforming Africa: the Role of the Church in Developing Political Leadership*. The *role of the church* suggests here what the church can do as church to contribute to the development of a socio-political leadership other than church leadership. This “role” can also be understood as the “contribution” of the church to leadership development. Therefore, the thesis limits itself to evaluating only the contributions or roles played by the organisations to contribute to leadership development. It can equally be indicated that though the International Church of Pretoria sometimes appear in subsections as 1.4.1 and 6.2.2.2, it is not part of the churches for study in the thesis. As specified later on, this church is just a local church where I and the International President of Operaf are part of the leadership and on which was based my Masters’ research. Given that today Operaf does not operate from/within local churches, this congregation cannot be studied.

Given the socio-political complexity of the continent, time constraints and mission territory that African Operation has covered to date, the study remains basically restricted to Sub-Saharan Africa. And seeing logistics constraints and the need for specificity, the research limits its context analysis of nations to DR Congo within the Sub-Saharan region. Such analysis, apart from avoiding a superficial analysis of the whole continent or the whole Sub-Saharan region, focusing the study on the Congo allows in-depth insights from this country that can also be useful for other African countries. Besides, DR Congo being my country of birth, a focus on it affords me to make a special contribution to the transformation of my own people. Wink (1989:97,105) and McDowell & Beliles (2008:24) advise that such a contribution is more than needed for the transformation of a nation. Moreover, the choice of the Congo is also motivated by the fact that it is the place where African Operation, the church organisation that works for the development of transformational political leaders in Africa, has worked the most.

For the sake of focus and space, the research also restricts the analysis of church activities for leadership development to those of what is called in DR Congo *The Church*

of Christ of Congo, which also African Operation has been using in its dealings with churches for the development of a political leadership for the socio-political transformation in Africa. Up to now Operaf operates mainly in cities and towns; and Kishansa is the main city in DR Congo where most Operaf activities took place with the Church of Christ of Congo. It is also the place where most of information on Operaf activities for this thesis was collected. Though attention has been paid to the quality of church leadership for practical reasons, this study is not intended to analyse the causes of poor church leadership or to propose detailed solutions for its improvement.

This study does not intend to elaborate detailed curricula for the necessary training, but it rather proposes a socio-political discipleship sample in the eighth chapter as part of the contributions the church can make for the needed African leadership development. This section of the research concludes by introducing the summary of the chapters of the study in the following section.

1.8 Summary of chapters

Answering the first sub-question of this thesis, the second chapter discusses general leadership theories that are relevant to African political, but also to church leadership, its nature and problems. The theories about African leadership inform the subsequent philosophy of the needed political and other socio-political leadership for the socio-political transformation of the continent.

The third chapter which answers the second sub-question is about the public social mission of the church through centuries and reasons why the churches in Africa today are supposed to assume this mission within the community. Leadership development is a factor in this mission in the sense that a leader who has appropriate intellectual, ethical, psychic and socio-political qualities, for example, can facilitate the achievement of the assigned objectives. The qualifications needed for the churches to be able to accomplish this mission successfully, potentials they have, and their limitations have also been dealt with in this chapter.

The fourth chapter deals with the context analysis of DR Congo; it thus answers the third subsidiary question of this thesis. The analysis of this context allows the

understanding of the real nature and conditions of the African leadership to envisage the possible role the churches can play in order to reach the development of a leadership for socio-political transformation. The country has a lot of commonalities with many other countries of the Sub-Saharan Africa; these features afford capturing the big picture of the political leadership of the region and of the factors that shaped it into its current form. This chapter historically analyses the specific political, cultural, religious, economic and social aspects of DR Congo, which can contribute to the development of an African leadership for socio-political transformation.

Answering the fourth sub-question, the fifth chapter shows how African Renaissance as a philosophy contributes to the development of the needed leadership in the twenty-first century Africa and describes the specific social, economic and political climate in which the needed transformational leadership should be developed.

The sixth chapter analyses different contributions of the two organisations involved in the development of African leadership for socio-political transformation, namely, African Operation and TMALI. The methods these organisations utilise to develop the needed leadership for socio-political transformation are equally appreciated.

After considering the poor state of the African church leadership as detailed in 4.6.4.2 and the fact that Operaf's selection and training of the political pastorate seemed to overlook this horrible situation of church leadership (see 6.2.3.1.2), the seventh chapter has introduced a recommended profile of a spiritual leadership African churches can use for the effective socio-political discipleship. This profile has been prompted by the specific experience of researchers and wisdom of leadership development practitioners and inspiration from the Bible. This chapter is a direct answer to the sixth sub-question of this thesis.

The eighth chapter answers the seventh sub-question of this thesis. It thus discusses a "socio-political discipleship" through which the churches can develop or nurture Christians that can be fit for both the appropriate future church leadership able to develop prospective political leaders and potentially-dignified public leaders capable of bringing about socio-political transformation in their communities. The chapter has thus underscored the leadership of the church as catalyst and developer of other types of leadership.

Answering the central research question of the thesis, the ninth chapter concludes this study, presenting its findings and suggesting a way forward. It also plays the role of the dimension of reflexivity where the interplay between the different chapters of the thesis are examined and appreciated. Therefore, the chapter proposes the critical elements of the study and its benefits and concludes by making recommendations. The findings have been presented through the seven dimensions of the praxis.

1.9 Conclusion

This chapter introduces the theme of political leadership development for socio-political transformation, as well as the aims of the study, rationale and background, research methods, the theoretical framework of the thesis, key concepts of the research, and the limitation of the study area. It has also afforded me to explain why the study is relevant and the way it has been conducted.

Leadership development is presented here as an important part of the church's mission and its responsibility as a community building institution and an educator of both the leaders and the led within African communities where the church is a significant factor as opinion former. However, the chapter has also recognised the importance of the coordinated and collective contributing action of all the institutions of African communities.

CHAPTER TWO

ANALYSING LEADERSHIP THEORIES

2.1 Introduction

The second chapter is the answer to the question of the leadership theories which can be used for the development of a transformational leadership in Africa. As concerns its place in the missiological praxis, it is a theoretical analysis of the literature related to leadership. Therefore, this chapter develops a framework that I will use to analyse the theories of the past and present leadership in DR Congo as well as in Africa in order to be able to develop a creative new proposal for a better future of the continent. It equally deals with the definition of the concept of leadership, types of leadership and ways of developing the necessary leadership the continent needs, and spirituality as a discriminating factor between good and bad or else effective and ineffective leadership. A word will also be said as to how these theories relate to the study on Congo. Suggestions as to how the developed leadership can be assessed will also be proposed in the chapter. Introducing their study on culture and leadership, Chhokar, Brodbeck and House (2007:1) maintain:

Culture and leadership are probably among the most written about and the least understood topics in the social sciences. This is not only because social sciences find these two topics very challenging, even seductive, but also because these two seem necessary for satisfying human existence.

This quote prompts me to state that seeing the close relation between the leadership of the Congo, in particular, and that of African peoples, their culture and the various historical influences they have gone through, I have chosen to be part of those who strive to understand this African leadership and its various relative issues in order to ultimately see how I can contribute to the development of a political leadership for the transformation of this continent. The development of such a long-awaited leadership will be the most satisfying thing for the church and for the community at large. Commenting on the importance of leadership development, Mathafena (2007:81) explains:

Leadership development is a key factor in driving competences of an organisation through enhancing and growing leadership skills base. Effective leaders are an asset to an organisation as they influence followers to participate positively in ... Leadership styles which are dysfunctional in nature e.g. autocratic style, impact human relations negatively in the workplace, and can also create a breeding ground for unproductiveness and destructive conflict.

The citation helps to focus the attention on the useful leadership types in the discussion to follow. Only the effective leaders that can enhance and grow leadership skills base in Congo or in any other African country will be seriously considered and discussed. Though some dysfunctional leadership types will be mentioned here, they will not be of any significance as they are no assets to our continent. The only leadership models that can allow to enhance, and grow transformation skills in our community to impact positively on it to highest productivity and complete socio-political peace will have our special interest in this study. As it will be clear in the following sections leadership models that are self-interested, oppressive, exploitive and destructive are basically dysfunctional; attention allotted to them is especially to see how they can be developed into an effective transformational leadership. In the same connection, the least defining and impacting leadership models will be discussed before the most impacting ones.

The main sections of this chapter are definition of leadership, origins of people's leadership, types of leadership, ways of developing effective leaders, evaluation of leadership training or effectiveness and the conclusion.

2.2 Definition

In common usage, the notion of leadership is a multi-dimensional one; a specific context of its use can clarify its meaning better. So, in this research *leadership* is generally used as a multifaceted and/or multifarious term having a few meanings though the focus of the study is the transformational political leadership. As for Simpson & Weiner (1989:750) the term may mean:

1. The dignity, office, or position of leader, especially, of a political party;
2. Ability to lead;

3. The position of a group of people leading or influencing others within a given context;
4. The group itself; the action or influence necessary for direction or organization of effort in a group undertaking.

Political leadership in this research generally means the body of people with or interested in gaining and exerting political power at a higher level in their community. Considering political leadership as essential element for socio-political transformation, I can observe with Maxwell (2007:1117) that leadership is not primarily about strategy, marketing, organisation, efficiency, or high-quality products, as it is sometimes thought of, but it is about people's transformation or wellbeing.

Beside its literal and/or lexical meanings, leadership can count a number of other meanings depending on its specific aspects and contexts. The term can thus have a spiritual, psychological, social, intellectual, political, and/or contextual meaning (depending on the community or country). In a given context or in front of specific people the term can suggest different ideas to individuals or communities. To an American audience or public, *Leadership* may suggest or evoke authority or power, influence, control of resources and individuals or communities, and so on. While to Congolese, it may reminisce, corruption, nepotism, dishonesty, wars, exploitation of the people and violence from leadership. To people of Botswana it may be reminiscent of social discipline, law and order, peace, education, economic prosperity, fight against AIDS and so forth.

However, commenting on people who lead others or have some kind of influence on other people, Drucker (1992:101-103) speaks of *effective leaders* as people who set goals, priorities, standards and maintain them, think through compromises before accepting them, see leadership as responsibility rather than rank or mere privilege, and who earn trust through their integrity. He equally distinguishes them from *misleaders* who simply consider leadership differently; misleaders are therefore people, who misuse the available power to control everything and everybody to end up misleading their followers. Public leadership generally refers to people assuming any public office in the community,

government, political party, or any high position in any other public institution such as university, church, etc. considering leadership as a dynamic process of influence for a given time and purpose, Wilhelm (1998:11) observes: “It is to be understood as the interactive processes between a leader, followers, and purpose. The process is a complex one in which leaders and followers interact in a context or a series of contexts over time”.

Defining the term, Mathafena (2007:28) explains that *leadership* is defined as a process of social influence in which the leader seeks the voluntary participation of subordinates in an effort to reach organisational goals. This definition implies that leadership involves more than wielding power and exercising authority, and that it is exhibited on different levels. Then, later on the same page, she defines leadership as a process where the leader and followers engage in a reciprocal influence to achieve a shared purpose. It is all about getting people to work together to make things happen that might not otherwise occur, or to prevent things from happening that would ordinarily take place. Leaders are thus defined as agents of change – persons whose acts affect other people’s acts.

From these definitions it is clear that there is no effective leadership for leadership sake. Any true leadership exists for a specific purpose that might be effectiveness of what is or its improvement. Misleaders are in no way concerned by the improvement or effectiveness of any assigned purposes, which is also the very reason for their disqualification. The section below then deals with a discussion on how people generally happen to occupy leadership positions in a community or to be recognised as deservers of such a privilege.

2.3 Origins of people’s leadership

This is just a brief categorisation of the origin of individuals’ rise to leadership positions. The origination here basically depends on people’s culture, which is partly, related to where they are from, their specific context and objectives. Therefore, general influential factors can be ascriptions of achievement, level of education and field of study, social class and influence, type of occupation, ownership and technical expertise. These factors

can play separately or together to promote one to a leadership position. Speaking of the origins of leaders, House, Hanges, Javidan, Dorfman & Gupta (2004:58) report:

Ascriptions of achievement provide normal route for an individual's rise to leadership and vary in a predictable manner according to one's culture. Other influential factors such as differences in education, class, occupation, ownership, and technical expertise are also determinants to filling leadership roles in different countries.

However, many of these features are of insignificant value or of no value at all in dictatorial cultures. During Mobutu's regime, for example, and this for more than thirty years, factors such as education, technical expertise generally lost this value. Though Mobutu also used highly educated people in his administration and political entourage, having an easy access to political or economic leadership often required having once been part of Mobutu's political party or having some connection with the ruling party, ethnic friends or its members (Clark 2002:92). Ownership, education and technical expertise played very little role. This is one of the evils of dictatorial regimes and autocratic leadership systems as they often rely on emotional and subjective criteria, and not on scientific or more reliable ones. The next section allows the discussion on types of leadership experienced in African communities to date.

2.4 Types of leadership for analysis

The question to tackle in this subsection is therefore that of specifying possible types of leadership to develop before describing the ways of developing the needed leaders. African Renaissance theories link most closely good leadership with the transformation of the continent; as it will be seen in 2.4.1, Thabo Mbeki, who played a specific role as the main proponent of the philosophy of African Renaissance (Maloka 2000:2), articulates this link better.

Considering the increasingly transformative value of leadership, this section has introduced and discussed the least defining and impacting leadership models before the most impacting ones. Practically, bold and imaginative leadership and African

Intelligentsia as proposed by Thabo Mbeki are discussed before Negative/Dysfunctional leadership, African traditional leadership, Servant leadership, Supportive leadership and/or Transformational leadership types that are of greater importance for the continent. Such ordering and discussion of leadership types also allow greater impetus on the most important models. Seeing the complexity of leadership theories and classifications, it is fair to note that this section presents a functional or operational list of leadership types rather than an exhaustive one. In this connection I wish to propose these introductory words of van Rensburg. Before elaborating on leadership types, van Rensburg (2007:66) introduces the chapter saying:

An African Renaissance implies a process of developing and transforming Africa. Leaders effect development and transformation through their vision and influence. The more quality leaders we have the more effective we will be in developing and transforming Africa. The essence of leadership is the will to serve others through committing your abilities to a cause or vision. Leaders of and within organisations can share the African Renaissance dream. Through building on Africa's cultural foundations, through growing as leaders and through developing other leaders, the dream can be realised.

Commenting later on Gayle Avery's study on leadership, which has led her to constructing the following four leadership paradigms: the classic, transactional, visionary and organic, he has this to say:

The four paradigms should not be viewed as distinct types or categories but as broad descriptions and illustrations of the preferred type of leadership – at least in theory – for a particular era.

Classical leadership refers to dominance by the leader or an elite group of people. The source of follower commitment is fear or respect for the leader and the rewards or punishment that the leader gives. Transactional leadership, as described earlier, is based on the leader and followers' interaction and negotiation of agreements. The focus is on short-term results and on maximizing immediate outcomes and rewards. Typically, the influencing process central to the transactional paradigm includes both rewards and incentives. Evidently the leadership influence is limited to the motivational power of rewards and incentives. Higher levels of commitment however are needed particularly to respond to a fast-changing environment. Both classical and transactional

leadership are more effective in times of stability or slow change and low levels of complexity.

In Avery's visionary paradigm she groups what in other literature is described as visionary, charismatic, inspirational or transformational leadership. Visionary leadership does not imply passive following of a strong leader who possesses the power of vision. What is important is that vision is central and the source of inspiration. Followers may contribute to the leader's vision and are invited to share in the vision (Van Rensburg 2007:67-68).

This quote is reminiscent of some of the most widespread behaviours of the so-called post-colonial African elite, especially as described in classical and or transactional leadership models. The elite that intimidate their fellow Africans with punishments and threats, or buy their loyalty through poisonous rewards and fallacious promises are the types of the Mobutu's and Kabila's from DR Congo, and Babangida's and Abacha's from Nigeria, Mugabe's from Zimbabwe, and more.

R.P.B. Williams has conducted a study on a strategic transcultural model of leadership that enhances *koinonia* in urban Southern Africa. Explaining a strategic transcultural leadership, he states:

A strategic transcultural leader is essentially a transformational leader who exhibits an ability beyond the norm in being able to cross socio-political barriers and thus inspiring the multicultural dynamic, while also honouring the individual cultures represented (Williams 2006:iv).

Such leaders because of their special abilities to cross socio-political barriers and to inspire multicultural dynamics are among the most needed for our continent in order to put and keep people of different ethnic groups and cultures together. They can combat thus hostile ethnic behaviours and other anti-social feelings and actions that could be contra-productive for socio-political transformation to be leadership models we need to see developed in this continent.

Jim Collins has written a book *From good to great*; the book is equally instructive about a leadership for the transformation of Africa. Collins' research team's quest to find reasons why some companies make the leap from merely good to really great companies, found with overwhelming empirical evidence that every good-to-great company had a *Level 5 leadership* during its pivotal transition years. *Level 5 leadership* is described as

leaders that embody the paradoxical mix of personal humility and professional will (Collins 2001:21). The ambition of such leaders is first and foremost for the company, not themselves. Another important finding with regard to the legacy of these leaders is that they set up their successors for even greater success in the next generation. Such a characteristic stands out as the strongest of all the characteristics of great leaders in the business world according to this study. It also clearly supports servant leadership and stewardship models for organisational development and growth (Van Rensburg 2007: 69). This Level 5 Leadership is a sort of transformational leadership as it will be seen later in this section. Interpreted in political terms, this leadership can be assimilated to Kasa-Vubu and Ilebo of the 1960's Congo who wanted their country to grow better and better and their people to have a better future (Makombo 2004:399) or to South African Nelson Mandela, whose main concern was a complete transformation of his people. This general introduction leads us to the following leadership typology.

2.4.1 Bold and imaginative leadership

This subtitle is derived from the words used by the former President Mbeki as he was describing the leadership that can reach real rebirth of Africa in 2003. As for him the African continent is in a dire need of a bold, loving, ethical and really servant leadership for its complete deliverance and development. Speaking of the demands for the rebirth of the continent Mbeki (2003:77) alleges:

The programme will be driven by our common conviction that bold and imaginative leadership, inspired by the need to build caring and people-centred societies, is a necessary pre-condition if we are to succeed in the struggle to achieve sustained human development.

Such a leadership is an ethical one that has the welfare of the common people at heart for the transformation of both individuals and communities. Those are leaders that have a vision for the transformation of all, but also the courage to speak out and act effectively against the enemies of the good of the people and that can plan proactively so as to reach the purposed socio-political transformation (Herron 2005:102, Kä Mäna 2005:216-217). Later on, when speaking of NEPAD, he elaborates on the statement above declaring:

The resources, including capital, technology and human skills, that are required to launch a global war on poverty and underdevelopment exist in abundance, and are within our grasp. What is required to mobilise these resources and to use them properly, is bold and imaginative leadership that is genuinely committed to a sustained effort of human upliftment and poverty eradication, as well as a new global partnership based on shared responsibility and mutual interest (Mbeki 2003:151).

As for Mbeki, the type of leadership Africa needs for the complete renaissance of its whole people in order to easily contribute to the development of what Linthicum (2003) terms *Shalom Community* should be the one committed to socio-political values such as political will and social justice, economic equity and true love for the neighbour, especially, for the poor. Such leadership needs to be bold enough to stand and act against unethical people and their acts both locally and internationally (Psalm 72:4-15). Such leadership also needs to be creative and cooperative enough to find quick and effective solutions to the problems of the day. Explicating further his Shalom society, he says:

That society comes about in all its power when such a culture is centered in that nation's love for God. This is how to know God – not to engage in privatized acts of piety but to do justice and to love each other tenderly and to walk humbly with your God (Mic 5:8, ...)" (Linthicum 2003: 38).

Linthicum seems to address more the Christian community rather than any other here; fortunately, we are that Christian community of Africa. Happily, African churches are among the fastest growing of the world (Van der Walt 2001:103); however, effective contributors to African social justice these churches need first to be against split spirituality or privatised theology and committed to socio-political transformation (Kretzschmar 2006:352).

2.4.2 African Intelligentsia

Underlining the contribution of African intelligentsia for real and much needed transformation, Mbeki (1998:99) declares that Africa's renewal demands that "her intelligentsia must immerse itself in the titanic and all-round struggle to end poverty,

ignorance, disease and backwardness, ..." names what Mbeki calls *Intelligentsia* here Intellectual leadership. As for him Intellectual leaders are those who deal with both analytical and normative ideas, which they bring to bear on their environment. The concept of Intellectual leadership brings in the role of conscious purpose drawn from values (Burns 1978:141). Speaking of the key to the effectiveness of leadership, supposedly, with view to the African intelligentsia, Van Rensburg (2007:66) rightfully states:

The key to leadership effectiveness is based on the influence of the leader. The key to positive influence is to grow personally and to use one's talents and abilities in services to others and to the cause or purpose of the group. The influence has to serve as catalyst in creating something meaningful and something which is a clear improvement on the past. A study of leadership shows that the focus over time has shifted to the transformational nature of leadership. The ability to lead well in a rapidly changing world became increasingly important.

The term *intelligentsia* generally connotes the most intelligent, intellectual, highly educated members of the society or community, especially, those who are interested in arts, literature, philosophy, and politics. As for Gover (1981:1175) *intelligentsia* is "a class of well-educated articulate persons constituting a distinct, recognized, and self-conscious social stratum within a nation and claiming or assuming for itself the guiding role of an intellectual, social, or political vanguard". This is another aspect of African leadership that can be of use to the continent. The quote above hints to the fact that the African intelligentsia can be useful to the transformation of the continent only when they are positively creative and/or are fully prepared to contribute with their skills or talents and abilities to the welfare of others or for the purpose of the improvement of the community. Good education can also be a factor against dictatorship and for the development of supportive and servant leadership as detailed later in 2.4.5.2 (Okumu 2002:71). This sort of leadership is absolutely essential in the sense that the first African leaders such as Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana thanks to his education in economy, Sociology, Law and Theology (Acquah 1992:17), Benjamin Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria with his education in Political Sciences, Anthropology and Journalism, Julius Nyerere of Tanzania with his teaching education, Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia as an educationist,

Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, Patrice Lumumba of DR Congo (Encarta 2007; Clarke 1961; Penn's University Archives; Smith 2011) and many others had a certain level of understanding both to seek independence and to plan for the challenges ahead despite unseen difficulties. Wellman, Perkins & Wellman (2009:1) equally posit that being scholarly is essential for an effective leadership; however, this African intelligentsia needs to have a prior preparation to be able to avail themselves for such a precious service to the community and to become a real asset.

African Intelligentsia and the leadership discussed in 2.4.1 as proposed by Thabo Mbeki are less defining aspects of leadership because they are more theoretic than practical. As such they can hardly be assessed. So, to be operationally effective they require being knowledgeable, ethical, caring, and courageous in nature and practically usable in a given context. These two introduce then three other main models of leadership that are more practical than the former. One of them is negative, which is comprised of five subdivisions (kleptocratic, transactional, positional, autocratic and laissez-faire), another represents the traditional African leadership model with its three essential aspects (acephalous, centralised and kinship-writ-large), and the democratic and transforming type that is inclusive of three similar positive ones: servant leadership, supportive leadership and transformational leadership.

2.4.3 Negative leadership

This is a leadership type that generally has a negative influence on both individuals and corporations or communities; a minority or sometimes an individual rule tyrannically, exploiting many while enriching themselves. Given the negative role this leadership generally plays and the main concern of this research, its five different aspects have also been analysed below and their main characteristics detailed. These aspects or subdivisions of the negative leadership include kleptocratic, transactional, positional, autocratic and laissez-faire leadership.

2.4.3.1 Kleptocratic leadership

Describing kleptocratic leadership Simiyu (2009:30) observes:

Kleptocracies are often dictatorships or some other form of autocratic and nepotistic government, or lapsed democracies that have transformed themselves into oligarchies. A kleptocratic ruler typically treats his country's treasury as though it were his own personal bank account.

This is thus one of the leadership types that are *negative or dysfunctional* in nature and destructive towards human relationships because of its negative service to the community.

2.4.3.2 Transactional leadership

Transactional leadership consists in leading because of one's own selfish benefits; the leaders propose or give something out in order to make bigger personal gains from the followers. Introducing *Transactional Leadership* in the workplace, Van Rensburg (2007:66-67) states:

Together with the commercialization of much of the Western and modern life, the relationship between the leader in his or her position and the followers became a transaction. The leader will reward people in the organisation for their competencies and efforts. Rewards will be in the form of material compensation and the security of a position in the organisation. The agreement between employer and employee became the foundation of bureaucracy. It was driven by a legal-rational approach to democracy in the workplace. "Transactional leadership" at best can ensure that the workplace is fair and efficient, but it will not lead to a transformed environment that would be more effective and suited to a changing environment. Its effectiveness in unlocking the latent potential in the organization is limited.

In the political world transactional leadership sometimes means worse when political leaders make fallacious promises to their people just for the motives of winning elections; after securing political positions their people's needs simply remain dead. Sometimes they make too many efforts and/or use much public wealth just for personal benefits. Transactional leaders generally rely on some sort of dictatorship for success in their dealings. Transactional leadership can hardly be one of the leadership models Africa needs for the transformation its peoples are awaiting. Africa has already had plenty of such leaders, who rhetorically make huge empty promises to the people for personal

selfish benefits or rendered little service for bigger gains in return. Africa has had enough of debacles of such leaders as those of Moi's of Kenya, Mobutu Sese Seko's of Zaire (DR Congo), Robert Mugabe's of Zimbabwe, Said Barre's of Somalia, Idi Amin's of Uganda and the like.

Influenced by Milton Obote, who had also personal interests at heart, Idi Amin led a military coup against Mutesa II, Sovereign of Buganda and President of Uganda; Obote became then the President of the country in 1964. Subsequently, Idi Amin was promoted to the position of General and Chief of Staff. With the help of British and USA, and Jewish governments that had also something to gain out of it Idi Amin ousted Obote to become the President in 1971. After massive massacre of Obote's supporters and ethnic people and as he was losing his Western and Jewish support, Amin sought the friendship of Colonel Kaddafi of Libya and claimed to be a defender of Palestinian interests in 1972 before Tanzanian troops forced him into exile in 1979. For about three decades of wielding power in Congo, Mobutu organised fake elections promising Congolese people things which he never offered them; on the contrary he engaged them in debts whose beneficiaries were only himself, his family and cronies. Appointed deputy president by President Kenyatta in 1967, Arap Moi chose to install a single party government for personal benefit in 1982. Moi's economic decisions, more profitable to IMF and his Western friends whose interests he was protecting, and his anti democratic stands provoked serious workers strikes and violent students' protests in 1985-1986. However, he proved wise enough to stay in power from 1978 to 2002. Appointed Prime Minister in 1980, Mugabe organised horrible oppressions against Ndebele, his political opponent Nkomo's people in 1987; after this Mugabe was nominated President of Zimbabwe while assuming the responsibility of Prime Minister. After experiencing a failure at the constitutional referendum in February 2000, Robert Mugabe launched a land occupation movement against white farmers and black political opponents mostly for personal political gains. Said Barre led a military coup in 1969 and became President of the Supreme Council of Revolution until 1976; then he was the General Secretary of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Somalia and President of the country elected in 1980 and 1986. Before then he created a Somali uprising in the province of Ogaden in Ethiopia in 1977-1978. Later embarked on the repression of some of his people, which led to a

civil war Said Barre was bound to flee from Mogadiscio in 1991. Most of these actions were done only for selfish gains (Encarta 2007; The Somali Manifesto).

2.4.3.3 Positional leadership

This leadership is not also interested in the transformation of individuals, organisations or communities; it equally sees no need in serving people either. Positional leadership is among the most spread types of leadership in Africa, which also appears to have contributed to much of the trouble the continent often experiences. This leadership is generally called *Leadership Statutaire* in French because of the role institutional statutes play to value it; *Positional Leadership* is its English version. Burns (1978:4) describes such a leadership as a leadership of a position in which people find themselves, where they have been appointed or where they have appointed themselves as it is sometimes the habit in this continent. These are naturally people who are called leaders because of the positions they occupy and not necessarily because of the service they can render. These are the people, who, for most times enjoy being served rather than serving others; they generally expect service from their subordinates and the underdog, and the poor of the community.

2.4.3.4 Autocratic leadership

As part of negative leadership practices Mathafena (2007:76) counts *Autocratic* and *Laissez-faire Leadership*. Autocratic leaders are those who are very conscious of the benefits and privileges they have to enjoy in these positions while ignoring all responsibility; they have very little trust and faith in their followers. So, the followers or subordinates of such leaders are controlled, coerced, and threatened with punishment to push them into achieving the objectives of the work. This is also one of the types of leadership that have seriously marred Congo and this continent in various ways.

2.4.3.5 Laissez-faire leadership

Laissez-faire leaders just allow everything and everyone to go their own way as the leadership is unable to make decisions and set clear objectives for the subordinates to reach. These leaders are abdicators, that is, they give up their responsibility. Mobutu and Kabilas' regimes have been marked by such kind of leadership for years in DR Congo as it will be seen in the fourth chapter. Unfortunately, all these negative types of leadership are so spread that they are easily found in most of African social structures. They abound in the church as much as they do in politics and elsewhere in this continent (Kretzschmar 2006:352). Before dealing with the general aspects of the transformational leadership the next subsection introduces a typical African traditional leadership.

2.4.4 African traditional leadership

This aspect of leadership recaps the main typical features of African traditional leadership as detailed below. Describing the leadership system in the traditional Africa, Van Rensburg (2007:57) states:

Early African societies were participatory and democratic. Consistent with Africa's communalist values everyone was included in the decision-making process. The process entailed extensive debate as might be needed for complex matters. It ensured that minority positions were given full consideration. Leaders were chosen according to the rules of the extended families or lineages. Lineage provided the unity and stability from which kingdoms and empires developed. It created the view that even nations are nothing but one big brotherhood...

The community's expectation of the African leader was that he would be strong in dealing with law breakers and govern according to the customs of the society. They were expected to promote the common good, ensure justice, peace and tranquillity.

Arguing against allegations that post-colonial dictatorial leadership is derived from African traditional chieftaincy, Pobee (1993:268) dismisses the idea of the current undemocratic systems as reminiscent of the traditional chieftaincy that is also its cause stating: "Even chiefs in traditional societies were accountable to their peoples. Those who

tried to be unaccountable to their people were either destooled or even poisoned off”. Then he argues further that

Traditional African culture has another thing that is conducive to democracy: it has a community epistemology and ontology which may be summarized as *cognatus sum, ergo sum*, i.e., I am because I have blood relationship. Others have said “I am because we are.” To be a person with dignity is to be located in a community and to have a sense of community, sharing among the community which consists of the living, the dead, and those-yet-to-be-born, a community in which everyone has the possibility to bring a contribution. Surely such epistemology and ontology can be harnessed in the promotion of democracy. The task is to search for the institutions and structures by which to foster and deepen the sense of community which is part of African theory of being and existence and to develop the institutions by which we keep out or restrain elements that assail the sense of community to which tradition invites us. But the basis of the community should not be blood or kin; it should be our common humanity as creatures of the one God (:278).

Concluding on this argument he further observes saying:

I myself am not so persuaded. For one thing, not all African societies practice chieftaincy. There are at least three traditional African political systems: [1] *acephalous societies*, for example, the Dagomba of Ghana or the Igbo of Nigeria; [2] *centralized societies*, that is, those societies with chiefs and organized in clear cut kingdoms, such as the Asante of Ghana, the Yoruba of Nigeria, and Buganda of Uganda; and [3] the system described as “politics of kinship-writ-large,” that is, when the head of the clan is the head of village and is *ipso facto* head of the policy. In this last case the basis of authority does not derive only from a sense of sacred tradition but also a sense of kinship groups. Despite the variety of traditional political organizations, all of them have gravitated towards dictatorship. It cannot be chieftaincy *per se* which is the reason for the drift to dictatorship.

Busia has argued that “the chief was bound by custom to act only with the concurrence and on the advance of the council. If he acted arbitrarily, and without consultation and approval of his council, he would be deposed (Pobee 1993:278-279).

This quote is pregnant with useful information about African traditional leadership systems. Apart from the fact that it argues against African traditional leadership being the prime cause of today’s African persistent dictatorship, it also provides useful information on different chieftaincy systems. Supportingly, Okyerefo (2001:113) declares:

It must also be said that even the communities which had Chiefs had checks and balances in order to prevent them from degenerating into autocrats. That is why on his enthronement the Chief is made to swear that he would never act contrary to the advice given by his elders. Failure to observe this oath is always a just cause for dethronement. He has his royal prerogatives though, but he governs with elders who are functionaries in traditionally determined offices such as linguists, Queen mother, etc.

The above discussion on African traditional leadership who cannot necessarily be blamed for persistent today's undemocratic and kleptocratic political systems in Africa helps us to conclude that the traditional political leadership was basically democratic in its own fashion, consultative and not kleptocratic (Wanyama 2000:109–110; Gordon 2002:7). However, I have also to admit that the leader, especially, the king wielded huge power such that he could give or take away important positions and titles at will (Jordàn 1998:17) just as in most democratic governments today. Cases of violent competitions and rivalries between princes in the Kingdom of Kongo and Kingdom of Lunda were equally so frequent at the death of a king (Cunnison 1959:162; Jordàn 1998:20) for succession though the decision was made by the nobility or elders.

Traditional African leadership can also be considered after some of its economic behaviours. Discussing the tributary mode of production around the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Mosala (1990:80) states: “It was under this mode of production that the chieftainship developed as the dominant political structure”. The dominant political leadership of this period was considered as fathers of their people (:82). These leaders were looked at as fathers for social responsibilities they used to shoulder for their communities as a father would do. Though they sometimes became very rich as Mani of the Kingdom of Kongo (Jordàn 1998:16) and Kankan Moussa of the Empire of Mali (Bilé 2008:79-80) did, they also redistributed the tributes to other members of the community, especially to the nobility (Jordàn 1998:18). The traditional leaders had equally the functions formerly and directly fulfilled by the fathers of the households in those communities as stated by Mosala (1990:81) saying:

Under the influence of this mode, therefore, the chiefs, rather than the fathers of the households, become the priest; medical and psychiatric activities are also

removed from the household to a specialist group of *nganga/dingaka*, who are now responsible first of all to the chief.

Later, Mosala (1990:82) observes: “Incipient economic exploitation in the form of the transfers is offset by the redistributive economic justice”. Economic exploitation as used in this quote would insinuate that tribute-paying was a serious economic exploitation of the people by the leaders; and it might probably be. However, one would be reminded that these leaders had no other wages than the tribute paid by the people and the kings or leaders of these communities had a personnel that needed to be paid for the better functioning of the kingdom, for instance (Jordán 1998:18). Tribute-paying was equally customary all over the place that time; the best examples can be found in the Bible. When the Jews asked for a king as all the nations of their time had, God of Israel explained to them one of the responsibilities towards the king as the payment of tribute (1 Samuel 8:15, 17). King Solomon had raised up a heavy labour out of all Israel (1 Kings 5:13; 12:4). God himself as the King of kings he demands tributes in the form of tithes and offerings for his servants (Leviticus 27:30-33; Malachi 3:8;). Commenting on God’s frustration in Malachi 3, MacArthur (1997:1366) these tithes and offerings were to fund theocracy, natural religious festivals (Deuteronomy 12:5-12; 14:22-27), and for the poor (Deuteronomy 14:28-29).

The lavish spending of some of the rich African traditional leaders may make one think of some of today’s African political leaders who enjoy big spending for prestigious reasons. Bilé (2008:79-80) explains how Kankan Moussa and his delegation of more than a thousand people spent lavishly on clothes and various other items. They sometimes chose to pay five times more than the normal price of the item. Jordán (1998:18) also reports how the king of the Kingdom of Kongo and his court assistants and nobles spent lavishly on ceremonies such as reception of dignitaries, nomination of new nobles, weddings and funerals of nobles as well as celebration of military victories and new diplomatic alliances. The main difference between African traditional leaders’ spending and those of the post-colonial African leaders is that when Mugabe and his cronies, for instance, or the rich Congolese leaders spend lavishly abroad or at home the common people of their country are starving (Banza 2003:64) while traditional leaders always cared for their people and made the necessary efforts to meet their alimentary needs

(Cunnison 1959:197-198). Mulemfo (2001:49) insists that in traditional Africa “If the ruler showed a clear tendency to ‘exceeding his authority’ or prospering while the rest of his society were poor and hungry, he was removed from office as unfit to rule”. Besides, it can also be said that the behaviour and sense of responsibility of the traditional African leaders were prompted and strengthened by their spirituality and their religious role which was more important than their political and economic ones. Along these lines, Van Rensburg (2007:58) equally declares: “Any ruler was at the same time a politician, a religious leader and an economist. The religious role however was the most important. The traditional African leaders were spiritually minded”.

Henceforth, let us examine some cases of positive and most defining leadership models that can be called democratic and transformational. Those can be subdivided in servant leadership, supportive and transformational models of leadership.

2.4.5 Democratic transformational leadership

This type of leadership generally observes principles of human dignity and worth, human rights, good social values, and individual and socio-political transformation. Though the concept of human rights seems to be a western social and political value, African traditional society was fully mindful of this value. What Mosala (1990:79, 81) considers as tasks or responsibilities of the fathers or households, which were later removed to the chiefs, were, in other words, rights of the members of the households, families and the community as such. It can be rightfully construed, according to these tasks or responsibilities that people were to enjoy the human rights of education, good food and health, and security. Traditional police and court were operational for the protection and defence of such rights and enforcement of the laws. Rights to human dignity were such a huge concern in traditional Africa that even slaves bought or got through war victories always ended up being recognised their rights to human dignity to ultimately be integrated in the family and community of their masters; sometimes, leading them up to occupying very important positions in the same community, which was generally a very system from what was done in Europe and Americas (Jordán 1998:17). At the same, I admit that in some parts of the continent there were serious cases of violation of human

rights such that people were buried alive with dead kings, for example, or twins killed because of the African superstition of the time (Rodney 1982:253).

To be an effective transformational leader in today's context also requires a good understanding of the local and/or national context, as well as insights in the big-capital global political and cultural dynamic. Commenting on such a leadership, Wellman, Perkins & Wellman (2009:1) declare: "Thus, an effective leadership model will include characteristics of being scholarly, practical, ethical, moral, just, caring, equitable, fair, and democratic ...". Apart from the development of these spiritual and/or social and intellectual values, concerned by the institutional security of this leadership, (Mihai 2009:1) suggests that a serious work needs to be done to make sure that this leadership is securely supported by strong democratic institutions and a good social morality. I wish to give more details for each of the three aspects of this leadership type because of value and specific contribution to the thesis that is concerned with the development of political leaders who would be transformational to bring about transformation to the continent.

2.4.5.1 Servant leadership

As for Greenleaf (2002:240) servant leadership consists first of all in serving before leading. Arguably, serving first here may well express the mental disposition of the servant leader or his/her mental disposition, attitude and actions before looking for leadership positions. He thus states earlier saying:

The servant-leader is servant first ... It begins with the natural feeling that one wants to serve, serve first. Then conscious choice brings one to aspire to lead. ... The difference manifests itself in the care taken by the servant-leader to make sure that other people's highest priority needs are being served (:27).

Consequently, those being served grow healthier, wiser, freer, more autonomous, more likely themselves to become servants. The effect on the least privileged is that they benefit or at least are less deprived. Smith (1996:40) observes that "a servant leader is one who leads in order to serve, who serves the highest priority needs of others, and who prizes the contributions of each individual to the whole". Speaking of pastors, he further

maintains that “servant pastors lead in such a way that members of their congregations and the churches themselves grow healthier, wiser, freer, more autonomous and more likely themselves to become servants” (:41). Servant leadership stands in stark opposition of transactional leadership. However, it shows a lot of similarities/commonalities with the supportive leadership.

2.4.5.2 Supportive leadership

Describing supportive leadership in his book, *The Art of Leadership*, Walter (1987:11, 13, 40, 48) declares:

Genuine leadership is of only one type: supportive. It leads people: It doesn't drive them. It involves them. It never loses sight of the most important principle governing any project involving human beings: namely, that people are more important than things.

Leadership implies running at the head of the pack, and not driving it from behind. This is true also in military matters. Those who serve under a great general know well that he asks nothing of them that he would not first do himself. Such a general feels himself at one with his men, not superior to them. He knows that he and they are simply doing a job together.

Leadership doesn't have to be unfeeling! The best leadership, indeed, is rooted in compassion, in kindness, in deep concern for the welfare of others. But to be most effective it must at the same time be liberated from personal likes and dislikes.

For the true leader is one who puts his personal wishes, not first, but last.

A famous example of such true leadership was Sir Philip Sidney, in sixteenth century England, who, though himself dying on the battle-field, and desperately thirsty from loss of blood, gave his water flask to a dying soldier with the words, “Thy necessity is yet greater than mine.

Walters' supportive leadership has some commonalities with Burn's and Greenleaf's servant leadership in this that it is particularly interested in people and aims at the satisfaction of their needs; the understanding of others' feelings and concerns. Speaking of business leadership Mathafena (2007:78) observes that supportive leadership style increases employee's commitment, satisfaction and productivity. The high moral intelligence of the leader as well as their humility and sense of responsibility are essential here for effective service to people. Discussing the causes of African leadership's

misdeeds, Okumu (2002:71) points out an intellectual poverty as one of the most serious and debilitating ones, saying:

There has been a great deal said about Africa's poverty; but the poverty has been economic and material in nature. I believe that to this we must add a much more serious and debilitating poverty affecting Africa – poverty of the intellect. If a leader's mind is not informed through training, education, and experience, he will suffer from a debilitating inferiority complex that he, then, attempts to overcome by the acquisition of power and wealth, with all the accompanying vices such as dictatorship, resorting to violence, intimidating and killing real and imagined opponents. Such leaders find it difficult to reason or argue; they have no tolerance whatsoever towards those who express a contrary point of view, however innocuous.

The quote above reveals somehow that developing good leaders requires training and seriously educating them all through the time rather than passively or reluctantly waiting for them to come into being by some miracle. This analysis leads to discussing another type of leadership that is similar to supportive and servant leadership in nature, but that is called because of its intentional transformational perspective *transformational leadership*.

2.4.5.3 Transformational leadership

A servant leader is a sort of Burn's transforming leadership. A transforming leader is one able to recognise and enhance an existing need or demand of a potential follower.

Describing this type of leadership, Burn observes that the leader

looks for potential motives in the followers, seeks to satisfy higher needs, and engages the full person of the follower. The result is a relationship of mutual stimulation and elevation that converts followers into leaders and may convert leaders into moral agents (Burn 1978:4).

Then trying to explain what moral transforming leadership is he precedes saying:

Transforming leadership becomes "moral" in that it raises the level of human conduct and ethical aspiration of both the leaders and the led, and thus it has a transforming effect on both. Perhaps the best modern example is Gandhi, who

aroused and elevated the hopes and demands of millions of Indians and whose life and responsibility were enhanced in the process (:20).

Speaking of the organisational needs of the time, Mathafena (2007:32) observes that today's networked, interdependent, culturally diverse organisation requires transformational leadership. The call for outstanding leadership coincides with the dramatic changes occurring with the nature of work. The need that organisations have for transformational leadership, the same, communities like ours in Africa also experience. Therefore, organisations or communities in need have to plan for and take decisive action for the development of such leadership. This development can be guided by the understanding of the required skills and qualities leading to or allowing the satisfaction of the needs in question. Suggesting essential qualities that make transformative leadership easily successful, Van Rensburg observes that if we understand leadership to be transforming situations, environments and organisations to a more desired state, then the question is "What are the essential qualities in a leader that enable him or her to influence others in such a way that they collectively contribute to transformation?" as mentioned above transformational leaders generally look beyond their personal achievements. They are not intent on using their power or influence to make themselves look good. As it has been argued earlier (Walters 1987:11, 13, 40, 48; Greenleaf 2002:240), the essence of leadership is to focus on the needs of others and then apply one's talents, technical, rational, emotional and visualising abilities to address those needs. Leaders see themselves as catalysts and facilitators in the creation of something that is only possible with the collective efforts of diverse people and talents, something that represents further possibilities for growth. The focus of their approach is to facilitate the process where a growing number of members have internalised shared values that motivate their contributions. That way people motivate themselves and the relationships with the leader become interdependent and not dependent. It furthermore implies the leader's willingness to enable and to empower others (Van Rensburg 2007:67).

The discussion above makes it clear that the leadership Africa needs for the transformation of the continent is a transformational one. A leadership that can harmoniously integrate and combine distinct supportive and servant leadership qualities in order to positively influence and transform individuals and communities. Commenting

on this leadership Mathafena (2007:75) has this to say: “Transformational leaders transform followers by creating changes in their goals, values, beliefs and aspirations”. She then reports on their behaviour, action, role and influence observing that these leaders behave according to transformational leadership principles in viewing followers as admired role models, who are respected, emulated and trusted. One of the key things a leader does to earn credibility is the consideration of the needs of others over his/her own personal needs. Leaders share risks with followers and are consistent rather than arbitrary; they can be counted on to do the right thing, demonstrating high standards of ethical and moral conduct; they avoid using power for personal gain – and then only when needed. Leaders behave in ways that motivate and inspire those around them by providing meaning and challenge to their followers’ work. Team spirit is aroused; enthusiasm and optimism are displayed. Leaders get followers involved in envisioning attractive future states. Reporting later on the subject, she says that transformational leaders engender trust; seek to develop leadership in others, exhibit self-sacrifice and serve as moral agents, focusing their attention – and that of their followers – on objectives that transcend the more immediate needs of work groups. Transformational leadership can produce significant organisational change and results, because this form of leadership fosters high levels of intrinsic motivation, trust, commitment and loyalty from followers than does most leadership practices. Speaking of how this leadership is evaluated she states, “Transformational leadership is measured by both the leader’s performance and development, and by the degree to which associates are developed to their full leadership potential. The associates are encouraged to use the techniques of effective leadership (Mathatfena 2007:74-75).

DR Congo as well as Africa, en general, has endured centuries of physical, social, political, economic and psychological exploitation and destruction at varying levels. These negative things have a deep nefarious impact on both the people and their communities. Consequently, they need a profound transformation of their people, their morality and behaviours, as well as that of their leadership. The transformation of the people and/or their community and that of the leadership seem interdependably very recommendable. This transformation as well as the development of the needed leadership

require a proper planning and intentional work for better result. So, the following section discusses ways to develop transformational leadership.

2.5 Theories on Leadership development

This section deals with the general theories that social institutions can consider in their projects for the development of a transformational leadership. The theories equally describe who can do this job and where it can be done. They also deal with the profile of leadership developers. Given that the theories on the profile of the developers of leadership in the church arena are discussed in details in Chapter Seven, at this level they are simply proposed. The theories are more elaborate for the projects of the church because this research is about the role of the church in developing leaders.

The twenty-first century is an era of a global village world and a time of more learning and knowledge, which some call “Knowledge Society” (Cox 1995: 234-235). People who can develop a transformational leadership for the continent will consequently be sufficiently informed even though they do not have the highest degrees. Van Rensburg (2007:87) declares: “Knowledge is an important factor in anyone’s ability to influence others”. And given that the bulk of the problem of the post-colonial leadership in Africa is an ethical one, in nature, the developers of the transformational leadership the continent needs will be ethically “blameless” to be real models. In this perspective, Mathafena (2007:51) observes: “A high level of ethical behaviour must be expected from transformational leaders, as they are expected to do what is proper and legal. A person who sets a good ethical example can be trusted to do the right thing”. Mbigi (2005:145) also suggests that before considering developing others into transformational leaders, leadership developers will be people primarily transformed, with good socio-political values and able to manage their own life well. Wellman, Perkins & Wellman (2009:1) suggest that spirituality of leaders is a critical factor for their behaviours. They consequently observe: “Thus, an effective leadership model will include characteristics of being scholarly, practical, ethical, moral, just, caring, equitable, fair, and democratic ...”

Given that political leaders in the continent seem to suffer from a number of socio-political ills and misbehaviours, six proposals are made below as to the main areas

which can be considered in developing a transformational leadership. These proposals are based on the main issues which have been identified by scholars, leadership theorists and developers, but which have also been real problems for a transformational leadership in Africa.

The objectives of the development of this leadership will clearly feature in the training programmes developed for use so that all those involved in the development of such a leadership can unmistakably pursue them. Speaking of training and development, R. B. Mathafena specifies that training is a programme that assists the learners in acquiring specific skills, within interventions or systems aimed at attitude and/or behavioural change, through equipping individuals with desired knowledge and skills in order to maximise their potential performance and therefore increase productivity. It is also a planned and systematic effort to modify or develop knowledge, skills and attitudes through learning experiences, to achieve effective performance in an activity or a range of activities; while *development* is an act or a process of developing a gradual and unfolding growth in an individual. She then remarks that the development of people refers to the advancement, skills, and competencies, and the improved behaviour of people within the organisation for their personal and professional use (Mathafena 2007:29-30). So, at this level of the thesis constructive proposals of programmes for leadership development are needed. The proposals combat specific social evils, solve particular problems and develop specific skills, values, behaviours and qualities a transformational leader can have. These programme proposals can be put in a table as follows.

Table 1: Proposals for training programme

Main issues with African leadership	Proposals for training programme
Lack of understanding of leadership theories and practices	Academic training for leadership development
Unethical and anti-social attitudes behaviours and actions: selfishness, ethnocentrism, oppression and exploitation of the underdog	Ethical training through ubuntu
Common Africans alienated by decades and centuries of exploiting leadership	Leadership development within African communities
Poor spirituality and lack of spiritual transformation which affect socio-political transformation	Spiritual training, including both socio-political intercession and transformation
Low self-esteem, lack of faith in Africans, in their cultures and values	Psychotherapy/psychological restoration and cultural stimulation and therapy
Hidden neo-colonial and recolonisation tendencies: foreign powers manipulating African leaders/powers for foreign benefits; western proxy wars in Africa;	Anti-recolonisation preparation

2.5.1 Academic training for leadership development

This is a crucial training for an effective leadership development, which can encapsulate both theoretic and practical aspects of the training; it can combat ignorance and provide people and the leaders with the needed knowledge and skills. Van Rensburg (2007:87-88) insists that “the standards and effectiveness of education in all areas of life are crucial to the development of leaders who will be able to face the challenges of today’s world”. And in this subsection Ciulla’s curriculum proposal has been considered. Ciulla (1996:193) describes Jepson School as a school in progress. The school was especially

opened in America to educate people for and about leadership. The mission was to prepare students to take on the moral responsibilities for leadership. A comprehensive leadership development was envisioned; the aspects of leadership whether in business, government, communities, or social movements, as service to society were all dealt with. This school presents constructive programme courses. The core courses in the two-year programme are History, Theories of Leaders, Critical Thinking, Leading Groups, Ethics and Leadership. The other elements of the Jepson School leadership programme are a list of competency courses such as conflict resolution, decision making, and policy making (Ciulla 1996:193-195).

Though this research has no intention to open leadership schools, a proposal for a leadership school programme can be suggested here. Some of the subjects offered in this school such as Ethics, History, including specifically “History of Africa”, Theories of Leadership which can also include “Leadership in Africa and/or in Traditional Africa”, Critical Thinking, Leading Groups, Courses on Conflict Prevention and Resolution, Decision Making, Policy Making, Political Leadership, Community Leadership, Social Movement Leadership, Organisation Leadership, Business Leadership and Government Leadership are also of special interest as proposals for leadership development. Offering ethical education to African leaders would equip them with a system of moral principles that would help them to behave and run the business of their communities and nations in a sensible and effective way (Kä Mäna 2005:211-212); African History education would make them more knowledgeable of where the continent is coming from and where it is, inform their thinking and decision-making, planning and implementing of their socio-political and national programmes (Okumu 2002:71; Mbeki 1998:99). Leadership theories would equip leaders with full understanding of who and what is a leader; what are the responsibilities of a leader to be able to work purposefully, being focused entirely on the intended objectives. Courses on community leadership, social movement leadership and leadership groups would make leaders into strategic transcultural leaders able to cross socio-political barriers and thus inspire the multicultural dynamic while honouring the individual cultures represented in the community (Williams 2006:iv). Courses on conflict prevention and resolution would empower them with special abilities

to prevent many socio-political conflicts and in case of a conflict they will be able to manage it skilfully (Banza 2003:109).

It can be suggested here that such a training programme is better applied by academic institutions or organisations with or working with schools than ordinary churches. However, churches can also use them or more particularly some of their elements in different church activities as sometimes suggested in the four projects proposed in Chapter 8 of this thesis. When exhorting Christians before praying for leaders or for socio-political transformation, for example, an aspect of the history of their people can be explained so that they can receive education through that. Or again when dealing with psychotherapy, some history education can be carried out; when working for socio-political or moral conversion, ethical education can be realised.

2.5.2 Ethical training through Ubuntu education

The basic issue here is the necessary ethical education or moral formation for the needed leaders. This education intends to combat general anti-social behaviours and actions and to develop the needed values in the life of the leaders. The use of the term *ubuntu* in this subtitle is especially to underscore the importance of the African culture in this training. Ubuntu being defined as social ethic and unifying vision (Teffo 1999:153) can play a constructive role in the development of the ethical values of the needed leadership. Agreeingly, Van Rensburg (2007:89) observes: “The African principle of ubuntu and community is highly relevant to leadership”. Ubuntu can also be the answer to the problems of racism, ethnocentrism and tribalism, which have served to fragment the nations of the continent as it constantly seeks the integration of individuals and communities. In such a programme ubuntu will be viewed as having a globalising and integrating value that goes beyond ethnicity and nationalities as it often seems to be. Individuals and communities may be taught to discern and reject social anti-values. Specific anti-social ills will be dealt with in a systematic way. Firstly, tribalism can be exposed and discouraged in a free and open society. It may be attacked by the citizens rather than the leaders. Secondly, the exposure may be carried out through educational and cultural programmes in which people will learn to appreciate the cultural diversity of

different nations. Interethnic marriages may be encouraged. Thirdly, laws against tribal attitudes and behaviours need implementing effectively. Fourthly, ethnic co-operation rather than destructive competition can be promoted as national policy and ideology. Fifthly, ethnic chauvinism may be exposed as morally wrong. Chauvinism breeds intolerance and arrogance that may be eradicated in order to usher in a tolerant and accommodative opinion. Sixthly, social integration can be taught and implemented at school from the nursery and throughout the education system (Ramasamy 2004:110). Discrimination and prejudices are, however, not confined merely to groups on the basis of race, ethnocentrism or tribalism. Early socialisation will lead to an integrated society with open minds and attitudes towards other groups.

Explaining how African philosophy of respect for elders and prominence of community rights over individual rights contributed to the building of strong and peaceable democratic communities, Gordon (2002: 2-3) states:

The African philosophy of respect for elders was based upon the assumption that, all other things being equal, those who were living in the world and experiencing life before others should possess greater knowledge. Thus, age-grade was one of the major factors in selecting leaders. Each grade from childhood to senior adulthood had its own social, economic, and political role. The emphasis on self-governance was as natural as breathing. Each age-group was responsible for the conduct of its members. Before any conflict reached the age-group council, it was handled by the family council.

This quote is importantly instructive; however, as indicated above, African traditional wisdom though helpful in various ways but its slavish application presents a lot of negatives for the present day Africa. Commenting on the positive practical use of ubuntu, Ramasamy (2004:102-103) remarks that this sense of community can play a major role for the transformation of both individuals and their communities. As ubuntu stands for heartfelt work to the community, teamwork and communalism, it can be effectively used to contribute to the success of an African renaissance for the benefit of the whole African and international community. Then, he suggests that the African sense of community is one of its chief cornerstones. It encourages teamwork and communalism. All activity is oriented towards fostering and cultivating community life. This concept is inculcated into children through idioms such as *Mutu umdozi susenza denza*, “one head does not hold a

roof”. Even the initiation rites stress the idea of bonding to one’s own age group and to others in the community. This approach is not at the expense of individual growth and progress. Here Sindima (1995:34) favours the term *individuality* rather than *individualism*. He also promotes competition and self-interest in a sense; a society must be built on categories which will make possible the building of community life, a community life that will, at the same time, accord respect to individuality. The implementation of this understanding requires a balancing of individual and communal values. These must be “fulfilled in each other than compromised to the detriment of both” (:152). This means recognition of worth in an individual while upholding the value of community. In this way an African renaissance that is needed can succeed as both an individual benefit and communal asset; and the community will be able to make vital contributions towards the achievement of the African dream.

In short, developing leadership in this way may well consist in combating superiority/inferiority complexes and developing positive self-esteem, combating negative anti-social evils and developing positive socio-political characters such as true love for oneself and for others, ethical behaviours and good spirit of service to individuals and to the community at large. These values may be precisely pursued during the training and accurately evaluated through behaviours change and palpable results. Speaking of the evaluation of leaders, Mathafena (2007:56) observes: “Leaders are not judged by the work they do, but for results they achieve”. So, such evaluation should equally include leaders’ achievements. In the traditional Africa the spiritual value of *ubuntu* was developed through the social, cultural and political structures of the time such as families, youth organisations, initiation rites and the like to secure the sustainable development of its values and its transference through generations. The same needs to be done today in order that good socio-political values can be inculcated in the African people in a sustainable way; the values should then be developed and instilled through structures such as families, ladies’ groups, youth associations, educational structures, churches and other religious organisations using also mass education instruments such as radio, and television for the purpose.

2.5.3 Leadership development from within the community

Contextual sensitising and empowering of the African is essential here; it focuses on the development of the necessary values in the leaders from within their communities. The alienated African masses can also be taken on board while their leaders are helped to reconnect with them. But to be of a real value, such a project needs to be fully aware of the time and real needs of the continent to become effective. So, as for the locus for the development of the necessary leadership, it can be suggested that leaders can be developed from within the very community that needs them. Various social groupings of the community must also be informed and educated about current socio-political realities to be able to fully understand their situation in order to act and respond to any socio-political situation in a responsible fashion. Supporting the education and implication of the whole community for sustainable solution to real community problems, Mbeki (2003:101) alleges:

One of these is that we should treat the critical matter of Africa's development and reconstruction as a challenge that faces not only our government and the African elite, but also the masses of our people. Accordingly, we must seek to ensure that whatever we say as Africa's intelligentsia and leadership, we communicate this to ordinary people of our continent. Thus should they be empowered to speak out about what they want for themselves, their countries and continent. And thus will they be enabled to participate in the struggle to emancipate themselves from poverty, underdevelopment and despair.

Among other things, this quote suggests that the space is available for everyone to contribute: for churches, governments, civil societies, education organisations and the larger community to think together and see how to work for the common good. Consequently, it can be proposed here the use of a wide spectrum of suggestions from different fields of human activities for effective development of the needed leadership. Such a space opens a door for educational advice for those who can wisely offer and/or receive such contribution. Commenting on the education for sustainable development, Mugo (1999:227) suggests: "Further, education for sustainable development will have to inculcate an ethos that shuns personal aggrandizement, epitomized by senseless individualistic accumulation of wealth at the expense of the majority." In the same vein,

speaking of the education of people who have lost their self-esteem, as most Africans have, in a way or another, Hoppers, Moja and Mda (1999:233) observe: “When you deal with people who have lost their self-esteem, their pride as well as their dignity, it is important that the “knowledge” fed to them, is fused with a sense and objective of helping them regain that which they have lost”. Theorising on how to develop ethical African citizens, transformed people who can qualify as moral or servant and transformational leaders according to the African traditional communalism model in today’s Africa, Ramasamy (2004) posits that to deal effectively with past western destruction of the precious values in today’s context of science and technology, where we recognise that there is also well worthy room for personal thought and decision-making for scientific development and community welfare, we cannot only condemn the evil of the western education but also appreciate its positive side. While destroying, supposedly, the precious African values this education also opened the African to the world of science and technology, and of various learning much wider than what was known to the African up to that time. It must also be understood that individual thinking and action as well as communal thought and action have their place in today’s context. If everybody learns only how to think like everybody in everything, there is little room for independent thinking; it can lead to slavish thinking and action. Consequently, scientific development, creativity, transformation can easily suffer from it.

Then, proceeding further he argues that it must be understood that both individualism and communalism have their own particular strengths and weaknesses. Communalism can lead to conformity and conservatism, which could lead to slavishly following the norms of a society without questioning anything. Certain individuals can be treated unjustly, for example, for many an individual has suffered because of communal practices such as female genital mutilation and the like. In addition, there would be no norm for creative thought and initiative. While individualism may lead to selfishness, it allows one to take full responsibility for oneself. Individual initiative is encouraged and a person can fulfil his/her full potential in life. Many great religious revivals and even non-religious movements were led by great individuals who could think for themselves. Our advances in the fields of science, technology and medicine are attributed to individuals who were not enslaved by traditional or communal norms. The success of the African

Renaissance will depend on the impact of both communities and gifted individuals (Ramasamy 2004:101).

Operating from within the African communities which need transformational leaders for socio-political transformation can inform the work of leadership development with the needed precision. It can also help while learning from community people to educate them according to their real needs of the time and of the global situation. Community people can also be educated about the development of transformational leaders from their families and community organisations, about how to discern and combat poor leadership as well as about how to prepare for anti-recolonisation. Developing leaders from within the community contributes to helping them to understand real needs of the people to be able to respect them, work with them and serve them effectively.

As indicated earlier in the thesis, knowing that political, intellectual and moral conversion/transformation is not necessarily something religious, some of its aspects can be dealt with here as well as in the previous two projects.

2.5.4 Spiritual training for effective leadership development

Spirituality and personal relationship of a leader with his/her God play an important role as concerns their personality, behaviour, actions and attitudes towards individuals, specially, underdogs, as well as towards the socio-political transformation of their communities. This training purports to develop a high spiritual transformation of African leaders. In his book, *The Leadership Challenge in Africa: a Framework for African Renaissance Leaders*, Van Rensburg (2007:58) raises an interesting question about the importance of spirituality of the leader in the traditional Africa. He specifies that leaders' relationship with God played a very important role. He then states:

The traditional African leaders were spiritually minded. The existence of God and the role that He played in providing the necessary protection, guidance and inspiration to their leadership, helped them to understand their primary responsibility from which they had to take care of their subjects and seek all means to create a conducive environment for everybody in the community.

Personal transformation of a leader in his/her relationship with God conditions his/her understanding of the primary responsibility in the community and the way she/he behaves, acts or reacts to people and situations. Gerhard van Rensburg speaks of the God the traditional Africans believed before Christianity and even after that. However, his remark suggests something very important to the church, larger community and the leaders about an aspect of the contribution they are supposed to make to the development of a transformational leadership. It is true that “spirituality” and “personal relation with God” are something one can hardly measure, but they remain a source of personal true commitment and transformation, which also conditions attitudes, behaviours and actions towards individuals and communities. Spirituality and personal relationship with God of a leader equally condition further personal transformation and that of many others. Commenting on the personal transformation of King Josiah and the subsequent spiritual and socio-political transformation of his people in 2 Chronicles 34, Maxwell (2007:570) observes that over and over again in the history of Israel this pattern repeats itself. “Low or high spirituality” of the leader means a lot for his/her people. So, given that the primary responsibility of the church is to make true disciples of Jesus Christ (Barna 2001:17-18), who can strive to live as light of the world and salt of the earth (Kalemba 2011:12), churches should do the utmost they can to reach their members’ highest spirituality possible. That is also why this thesis has devoted two of its projects in Chapter 8 to spirituality development and spirituality contribution to leadership development (8.2 & 8.3).

2.5.5 Psychological-restoration and cultural-stimulation training

Psychological conditions of individuals or of a whole community are important because they can influence people’s lives, attitudes, behaviours, actions and their entire culture. Therefore, this subsection intends to bring about cultural therapy and psychological restoration, which can lead to the development of transformational behaviours, attitudes and actions. After reading the history of Africa and the consequences of slave trade, colonisation and neocolonisation, Van Rensburg (2007:61-62) suggests that psychological restoration is needed in the development of an African leadership for

socio-political transformation. He further explains that such restoration can help to combat the negative consequences of the bleak history of the continent on its people including its leaders. Among those negatives he lists, for instance, a disregard for time that leads to unproductivity, a fatalistic attitude and lack of personal responsibility, tolerance of evil instead of actively fighting it, weak management and lack of planning, lack of work ethic and low commitment, and the “cult of mediocrity, complacency, lack of initiative and dependency”, which can completely disappear when psychological restoration has been effectively carried out. Banza (2003:58-60) equally proposes psychotherapy for many anti-values which commonly marred African elites’ lives. Supporting psychotherapy, Hoppers, Moja and Mda (1999:233) also encourage a comprehensive cultural development of individuals.

It is equally in this project that the revaluation of the African culture can be encouraged and confidence of the despondent Africans in their own selves as dignified human beings stimulated. African traditional values can also be taught here and their positive contributions highlighted; African traditional anti-values can equally be depreciated and discouraged here.

2.5.6 Anti-recolonisation preparation

Linked to the idea of psychological restoration of Africans and their cultural stimulation is the understanding that slave trade, colonisation and neo-colonisation are detestable experiences which can no longer be allowed. And the best place to start with such preparation is among African leaders who have been used either in slave trade or neocolonisation and who can be used again for recolonisation. Prevention being cheaper and easier than remedy, African Renaissance philosophers and/or activists regularly raise awareness about these undesirable and bitter events and their consequences through writings and public speeches. Some of them have even started warning the public against the possible recolonisation of the continent. One of those is Thabo Mbeki who, not only, often speaks against colonial ills, but also publicly condemns the continual neo-colonial activities in Africa (Mbeki 2011:5-6). In his recent speech he insists that Africans must beware of the Western project of recolonising Africa to consequently work against the

shameful project. Explaining further, he observes that indeed Westerners are no longer interested in administrating African affairs; they think it is cheaper and easier to create a situation like that of Ivory Coast where they waged a proxy war and managed to put in power people who could care more for their interests than for those of the Ivorians. He warns that relevant structures of UN can be used as was the case to effectively come to this end (Mbeki 2012a:14-15). The current situation in DR Congo may be one of those cases where proxy wars are fought and won in the name of a democracy which, in reality, is the concern of none of those who claim to fight for it; then a fake democratic leadership team is supported into power and the natural resources of the land are snatched away to the West with the help of accomplice Africans as indicated by Nzongola-Ntalaja (2007:232-233) and Doyle (2012). These are also situations where African churches and the global church can come together and play some prophetic role towards political leaders against recolonisation.

2.6 Types of leadership praxis in Africa

This section introduces a grid of possible characteristics that can be found in the life of an African leader in her/his career. The grid includes different leadership models, especially, those of negative leadership or dictatorship, and African traditional apart from transformational leadership types, and their characteristic traits. Different characteristics have been regrouped after praxis circle's dimensions of agency, spirituality/value systems and strategy; some of the aspects featured in the following table will also be used for assessing leaders later in 2.7. The essential leadership types represented are those that are the most defining and that can have a clearly negative or positive significance for this research as concerns the development of the transformational political leadership.

Such terms as democracy, human rights, which seem to hold a number of meanings can also be explained here to make the characteristics more explicit. *Democracy* as suggested in this section and the table below refers to the broad definition as proposed by Professor André Mangu. He suggests that the kind of democracy that African leaders adopted under NEPAD and APRM or African Peer Review Mechanism is defined as a system of governance in which people effectively and meaningfully

participate in the decision-making processes that affect their lives and livelihood, and politics as the process by which values, goods and services are allocated in society (Mangu 2007:358-359). The term *human rights* connotes the basic rights which belong to all people, such as freedom of speech, of opinion, of assembly, rights to life and social justice, (Hawker 2006:335).

The adjective *democratic* as used in the table below to qualify leaders suggests those leaders who are favouring or disposed to favour social equality (Gover 1981:600). In the specific case of the African traditional leaders it may also mean leaders elected and consulting with traditional notabilities of some kind as detailed in 4.7.1. The adjective *undemocratic* simply means not democratic; it refers to leaders who do not agree with democratic doctrines, practices or ideals; leaders who exclude masses of their people from decision-making processes (Gover 1981:2487).

Table 2: Types of leadership praxis

Circle dimensions	Dictatorship	African traditional	Transformational leadership
Agency	Undemocratic leader	Democratic ; knowledgeable leader	Democratic leader
	Autocratic/ kleptocratic	Communal and consultative	Consultative and knowledgeable
	Nepotist or oligarch	Oligarch and accountable	Cooperative and accountable
Contextual analysis	Chaos and injustice	Peace and social justice	Peace and social justice
	Massive poverty; irresponsibility	Truth and/justice seeking	Truth and/justice seeking
Theology/Spirituality/ Value systems	Personal privileges first	Special care for underdogs	Others-oriented and ethical;
	Inconsiderate of the Led; uncaring	Love for one's constituency	Loving and caring for the led
	Eroding people's living standards	Role-modelling for others	Clear unifying vision; Transformational in action
Strategies	No elections or Elections: not free/fair	Appointment by elders/dignitaries	Elections: free and fair ⁷
	Oppression and tyranny	Observation of communal laws	Freedom for communal good
	People exploitation	Ubuntu/seeking good of all	Human rights for all
	Divide and rule tactics	Observation of the traditions	Observation of the law

⁷ Pierre de Vos, John Murphy & Nico Steytler (1994:xxi, xxii) A free election refers to the ability of people to associate in political parties and to propagate policies of their choice without interference from the state or any other party or individual. Voters are able to express their choices freely. Fairness demands that each

2.7 Theories on evaluating leadership effectiveness

Evaluation is an important aspect of leadership training to see whether it has been successfully carried out or not; evaluation equally allows the appreciation of the character, value, strategies/methods and performance of leaders. Such evaluation necessitates specific criteria that would allow one to value the personality, spirituality, strategies and performance of the African political leadership. That is why I have proposed a set of criteria which can allow one to appreciate whether a leader is an undemocratic, kleptocratic, acceptable multicultural or a transformational one later in this section. Referring to the grid of leadership characteristics in Section 2.5 and/or the criteria offered in this section one can grade leaders according to their different scorings.

2.7.1 Evaluation of an effective transformational leader

Effective transformational leaders are evaluated by their abilities to bring about good results or by their performance; they are also appreciated by how well they can develop followers into effective transformational leaders. A transformational leadership is measured by both the leader's performance and development and by the degree to which associates are developed to their full leadership potential (Mathafena 2007:66). Transformational leaders can equally be measured by their ability to transform themselves through continual education, through their own teachings, through different life circumstances, through acts of those who surround them and through advices and criticisms from others (Van Rensburg 2007:88).

2.7.2 Evaluation of leadership training

This subsection presents very important theories for the evaluation of leadership training. But given that the primary concern of this thesis is the evaluation of contributions rather than that of training efficiency, the research has not dealt with the practical side of the

party have equal opportunity to win the support of the electorate. The fairness of an election is assessed in terms of the conditions and structures within which political parties must compete for votes.

theories. Speaking of the evaluation of leadership training, Mathafena (2007:40-41) identifies four dimensions in which training may be evaluated, namely:

1. Reaction: here evaluation measures how participants in a training programme react to it. Such reaction may be positive or negative, i.e., they may like or dislike the training programme offered.
2. Learning: this dimension of evaluation deals with the extent to which participants change attitudes, improve knowledge or increase skills as a result of attending the programme.
3. Behaviour: this dimension can be defined as the extent to which changes in behaviour has occurred because the participants attended the training programme. She identifies it as the intermediate level of evaluation, which measures the effect of training on job performance. This entails determining whether the learning, be it knowledge, skills or attitudes, has been successfully transferred back to the workplace or community. It assesses whether job performance has improved and, in particular, whether the identified performance gap has been bridged.
4. Results: results can be defined as the final result that occurred because the participants attended the programme. The final results can include employee satisfaction with leadership practices, high performance and productivity, and overall improvements in effectiveness towards meeting organisational objectives.

The evaluation discussion mainly focuses on change in behaviour; it is common sense to say that no learning has ever occurred unless change in behaviour occurs. Importantly, change in behaviour is very much dependent on attitude change, increase in knowledge and skill improvement and self-efficacy. When desired behaviours are practised, this has an impact on the quality of performance or results. There is little point in developing skills and competences if they cannot be transferred back to practical day-to-day life or to the workplace.

However, it is essential to note that as far as the transformation of Africa is concerned the kind of training its leaders need is the one which can nurture leaders who, when highly skilled to do things right they are equally able to do right things any time (Mombo 2009:66-67). This Mombo's consideration is important especially when one can remember, for example, that the African Mobutu of Congo, Idi Amin of Uganda, Mugabe

of today's Zimbabwe and many others know how to do things right, especially, how to stay in power for decades, but were unable to do the right things, failing thus to bring about the needed transformation; this failure has led them to causing misery to their nations. When a training focuses more on the development of personality ethic rather than on character ethic, leaders thus developed tend to be more managerial and authoritarian than transformational and participational (:67). This is also the reason why the column of the transformational leadership in this thesis features more values that favour the development of character ethic than personality one.

Servant leadership and supportive leadership are aspects of the transformational leadership that equally feature essential forms of character ethic. All of such leadership types put people, their communities and their interests first. What is more specific about transformational leadership is that it aims at the transformation of people and their communities. As for the development of the transformational leadership it has been noted that it is better developed in the context of the very community where it can be involved for the transformation of the people of every social stratum.

Training individuals and communities to discern and reject social anti-values is necessary as it empowers them with the ability to react or act in an informed fashion. Anti-values such as, ethnocentrism, xenophobia and the like are exposed in a free and open society, and attacked by the citizens rather than the leaders only. The exposure of those can be carried out through educational and cultural programmes in which people will learn to appreciate the cultural diversity of different nations and ethnic co-operation rather than destructive competition. Leadership development may also consist in combating superiority/inferiority complexes and developing positive self-esteem, combating negative anti-social evils and developing positive socio-political characters such as true love for oneself and for others, ethical behaviours and good spirit of service to individuals and to the larger community. The values can be precisely pursued during the training and accurately evaluated through behaviours change and palpable results (Mathafena 2007:56). As it was the habit of developing the spirit of ubuntu through social, cultural and political structures in the traditional Africa, to secure the sustainable development of its values and its transference through generations, the same can be done

today to secure the needed good socio-political values and to inculcate them in the lives of the Africans (Gordon 2002:8-9).

2.7.3 Criteria for leadership evaluation

The subsection proposes a few criteria as an instrument for the evaluation of a leadership. The table below equally includes such aspects of leadership evaluation as agency, context analysis, theology/spirituality/value system and strategy. Though it is not the same, this table has a lot of commonalities with the one found in 2.5; the main difference between the two tables lies in their middle column. While the table in 2.5 speaks of the African traditional leadership this one describes a limited democratic leadership of this time who can be supported because of his/her loving and caring qualities and social transformational vision for the common people of the nation.

This limited democratic leader pictures, for example, a late Houphouët-Boigny of Côte d'Ivoire (Clark 1998:95). Being also African, the Ivorian has been chosen to showcase because there has never been such a leader in the Congo since independence. Boigny became the first president of Côte d'Ivoire in 1960 and launched an economic liberation programme in his country. Taking advantage of the favourable coffee and cocoa market, he implemented development and industrial programmes which led thus to what came to be called "Miracle Ivoirien" or Ivorian miracle. He brought about a significant economic and socio-political transformation.

Boigny imposed a strong regime on the nation to keep its different sixty ethnic groups together. But his welcoming of Jean-Bedel Bokassa the former emperor and dictator of the Central African Republic disappointed many Ivorian youths. The construction of an impressive cathedral at Yamoussoukro, his native town, coupled with the economic crisis and increased opposition pressure strengthened by corruption accusations progressively forced Boigny to accept multipartism in 1990. The same year he was re-elected president of Côte d'Ivoire for the seventh consecutive time; then he died in 1993 after more than thirty years of ruling. Dying in 1993, Felix Houphouët-Boigny left his people far better off and more prosperous than such peoples as the Zairians who possess more natural resources than the Ivoirians (Clark 1998:95). His good

values of love for his people, of transformative service to and continually looking for the welfare of his people set Houphouët-Boigny to do far better than the Congolese dictators up to now.

Wellman, Perkins & Wellman (2009:1) consider also most of the values featured in the third columns of both tables in 2.5 and 2.6.1 as constituting spirituality that forms the core of effective leadership.

Table 3: Leadership characteristics

Praxis circle	Unacceptable dictator	Limited democratic leader	Transformational leader
Agency	Autocratic leader	Limited democratic	Democratic
	Ethnocentrist leader	Africanist & Nationalist	Nationalist
	authoritarian servant leader	Visionary	Practical visionary
Context analysis	Not consultative	Semi-consultative	Consultative
	Knowledgeable	Knowledgeable	Knowledgeable
	Nation degrader	Social transformer	Creative and social transformer
	People erodent	Community influential	People transformer
	Irresponsible	Autocratic or oligarch	Accountable
Theology/s spirituality/ Value	Disrespectful of People	Loving people	Respectful of people
	Untruthful and unjust	Justice seeker	Truth & justice seeker
	Unethical and Self-servant	Ethical & Servant	Ethical & role-modelling Servant
Strategy	Not free or fair elections/no elections at all	Limited or no elections	Elections: free and fair
	Prioritising one's own interests	Considerate of others	Prioritising others interests
	Oppression and kleptocracy	Limited freedom	Freedom for communal good

2.8 Conclusion

The chapter has afforded the opportunity to examine various leadership theories that can be useful to the development of the African leadership for socio-political transformation, to appreciate them and/or classify them. The theories on leadership development as detailed in 2.5 are important as they can constitute a comprehensive training programme for the necessary transformational leadership for the continent. They can also help to decide how much an organisation has contributed to the development of the African transformational leadership. That is why the chapter 8 of this thesis has integrated essential aspects of these six proposals within its four projects. The sections 8.2 and 8.3 embody aspects of the subsections 2.5.1, 2.5.2, 2.5.3 and 2.5.4; the section 8.4 embodies the aspect of psychological restoration and anti-recolonisation as detailed in 2.5.5 and 2.5.6. The section 8.5 also embodies aspects of academic education, socio-political transformation, leadership development from within the community, psychological restoration and anti-recolonisation as found in 2.5.1, 2.5.2, 2.5.3, 2.5.5 and 2.5.6.

The development of the transformational leaders of the community is an essential activity and duty that needs to be carried out in accordance with the culture and social values of the community and within the very community (Thabo Mbeki 2003:77; Sindima 1995:218). Spirituality, which is represented by values such as: knowledge, love and caring for others, love of truth and justice, respect of people and their rights, stands as a discriminating criterion to decide on whether a leadership practice is a good or a bad one (Wellman, Perkins & Wellman 2009:1). Effective or transformational leaders have been defined as those who consider their leadership as a responsibility rather than a privilege and who try to know the highest needs of their people to meet them to the best of their abilities. Such leaders also look for the transformation of individuals and communities or organisations; they consider successes of their careers, organisations and/or administration as a result of a collective work and not of personal efforts. These are the types of leaders Africa has been missing for its socio-political transformation for decades while despotic and transactional leadership has been rife in the continent, especially since official independence adverts in the late 1950's. Such leadership has been distinguishing itself as selfish, irresponsible, exploitative, destructive and dictatorial

in many ways. Given the importance of developing the needed socio-political leadership for the transformation of individuals and their communal good, it is advisable for community builders, theologians, missiologists, church workers and all African intelligentsia and people to plan and act decisively for the development of their leaders according to their real needs.

CHAPTER THREE

PUBLIC SOCIAL MISSION OF THE CHURCH

3.1 Introduction

After discussing various theories on leadership, this chapter embarks on answering the second subsidiary research question, which is about the public mission of the churches, especially, in relation to the development of leadership. So, the role of this chapter in the missiological praxis circle is that of ecclesial scrutiny, where analysis and especially reflection on the public mission of the church is carried out. This chapter deals with the public social mission of the church. Basically, it studies the church, discussing it as an institution meant to deal with the spiritual side of the possible problems arising in a community and as a social institution that can equally deal with communities and lives of the peoples of those communities in a holistic way. The discussion has been, as it will be clear later, to establish that African churches and the universal church have a mandate to play a significant role of *salt of the earth* and *light of the world* in the socio-political life of the communities where they operate. Commenting on Matthew 5:13-16, Fleming (2009:415) indicates: “Salt can be used to preserve food from decay and to give food flavour. Christ’s people should have a similar effect upon the world, as they resist the corrupting effects of sin and help make the world a better place to live”. Speaking later of the light of the same page, he observes: “The followers of Jesus are lights for God in a dark world”. This mandate is also a significant basis for seriously considering the development of a transformational leadership for the African continent. The chapter points out that Christians have been in public mission for long; but the churches can rather use wisely all their potentials and meet the necessary requirements for them to be effectively up to the complete social and spiritual mission as detailed in later sections.

Main sections of this chapter are the theological and biblical basis for socio-political transformation, socio-political transformation through history, resources used to reach this transformation, and the strengths and weaknesses of the church.

3.2 Biblical basis for church's social responsibility

The section examines aspects of social responsibility in the Bible; it starts with the Old Testament, then examines the ministry of Jesus Christ and ends up with a few specific cases of the New Testament, which elucidate and strengthen the argument about this responsibility, especially, in contributing to the development of a transformational leadership.

3.2.1 Aspects of social responsibility in the Old Testament

After delivering the people of Israel from Egypt, God regularly uses their horrible experience as strangers to emphasise the urgency of respecting foreigners and kindly ministering to them. He reveals himself as the supremely compassionate God, who has a deep concern for the least in human society: the fatherless, the widow, and the foreigner in Deuteronomy 10:17-19. He presents himself as the one who administers justice for the fatherless and the widow, and who loves the stranger, giving him/her food and clothing. Being the living example for social responsibility and justice, he concludes his statement by commanding his people to love the stranger because they were strangers in Egypt (:19). In Deuteronomy 15:9-11, it is specifically recommended to the people of God to be good enough to always open their hand and generously give to the poor, who will always be in the land, for God almighty to be continuously blessing the works of those who give to the poor. Failure to do so was a sin (Adeyemo 2006:232). Social responsibility and free service to the community, especially, to the poor (Bellagamba 1992:7), are God's command with a promise of blessing; a selfish community may thus often be a cursed community. Commenting on the words of Jesus Christ in Matthew 25:41, about those who would have refused assisting needy people and who could be sent away from Jesus, Adeyemo (2006:1164) observes that the criterion for judgement is kindness to his brothers and sisters.

3.2.2 Ministry of Jesus Christ

The ministry of Jesus Christ, Head of the Church, is a very constructive and appealing example in this regard. Jesus used to teach through words and well-meaning actions and his ministry was generally coupled with social actions to the community members. After reporting the teaching of Jesus in Chapter 5, the gospel of John continues in John 6:1-14 to show that Jesus was also very involved in social service to people. As he looked at his followers, he discerned their fatigue; they were hungry and in need of food. Then, he used the means at his disposal to feed 5000 men and many other thousands of women and children. After multiplying food, he ordered the disciples to ask people to sit down in order; after the latter had eaten he asked the disciples to collect all the pieces lest there be loss. Jesus not only posed social actions but also taught his disciples how to discover real social needs in the hearts of people in order to meet them; how to collaborate in ministry and how to constructively use spiritual gifts and manage material goods received from God. Tokunboh Adeyemo interprets this passage while looking at the present suffering in Africa and the whole world. Then, he observes: “The same Jesus watches over the affairs of Africa and the world in general. First, he wants each of us to believe in him as the bread of life. Then, when circumstances are beyond our control, we can expect him to take care of our physical needs, as he sees best” (Adeyemo 2006:1263). In this observation Tokunboh Adeyemo tries to underscore the prior reason why people should go to Jesus Christ. Jesus’ social action in John 6 above was no isolated incident. He was equally healing and comforting many. Luke 8:41-48 tells of how he healed a woman with an issue of blood; Luke 8:49-56 tells of how he resurrected Jairus’ daughter. Commenting on the leadership of Jesus in Luke 8:49-56 and the following, Maxwell (2007:1269) observes: “Jesus always approached people to meet their needs ...” Adding to this comment, Adeyemo (2006:1221) observes that Jesus healed people as a whole: their body, mind and spirit. The woman in this story would have her whole life affected by her bleeding. Her physical problems likely included anaemia, weakness and infertility. Socially, being supposed unclean, she was probably divorced and abandoned by family

and friends. Spiritually, she was cut off from God and could not go to the temple to worship. But Jesus solved all the problems he wished to.

3.2.3 The New Testament and early church teachings

The urgency of social responsibility and service to the community was important in the first century as it had been in the Old Testament time (3.2.1), and it has been expanding because of the continuously worsening of the global, social, economic, political and ecological environment. Poverty, oppression and persecutions, wars, droughts and floods, which put people in the position of need and always challenge the people of God to generously serve those in need around them. Reinforcing the idea of the service to the needy and emphasising the idea of assisting the poor, Jesus advises the rich young ruler, who asked him what to do to be saved in Matthew 19:21 saying: “If you want to be perfect, go, sell what you have and give to the poor, and you will have treasure in heaven; and come, follow me”. The passage also points to the fact that one cannot be a true follower or disciple of Jesus without using their material wealth to meet the physical needs of others. Intending to convey a serious perspective on the social responsibility to his followers, Jesus identified himself with the needy and vulnerable of the community in Matthew 25: 31-46 as mentioned earlier. He told the disciples that whoever gave food to the hungry, clothing to the naked, drink to the thirsty or visited the sick and the prisoner, took the stranger in, was blessed because he did it to Jesus himself. But, whoever failed to do any of these things to people in need did not do them to him (Jesus) and was consequently cursed. The Christians of the early church who understood that all they had belonged to God their Lord fulfilled this commandment literally, leaving no one in needs (Acts 2:44-47). But this comment does not suggest that this was a community of goods; it was rather a community of believers so devoted to each other that they could everything they had (Adeyemo 2006:1304)

Speaking of social responsibility, Hebrews 13:1-3 lays a special emphasis on assisting strangers and prisoners. Commenting on the passage, Fleming (2009:568) insists that “Christians should act with love, not only towards those within their church, but also towards strangers. Some of these visitors may be messengers God has sent to them (see.

Gen 18:1-8; 19:1-3). They should also help fellow Christians who are imprisoned...” James 1:26-27 exhorts Christians to practise true and pure religion by visiting orphans and widows in their troubles and by keeping themselves uncorrupted by the world. Christians and churches that have paid attention to these commandments of God have been struggling to observe them throughout the history according to their varying socio-political contexts and circumstances. Adeyemo (2006:1511) observes: “Pure religion shows itself in behaviour”. Then, he continues: “This example derives from the OT, which commanded God’s people to care for those who had no one to support them financially. Orphans had no fathers, widows no husbands and foreigners no land to cultivate”.

3.3 Socio-political Transformation through History

Being translated from the Greek word *ekklesia*, *church* literally meaning *special assembly or congregation called out of*. The literal meaning of this word leads theologians and church thinkers and workers to various interpretations. For example, describing the positions of churches in Apartheid South Africa, Borer (1998: 83) observes that the South African Council of Churches (SACC) and the Southern African Catholic Bishops’ Conference (SACBC) had increasingly become otherworldly in their religious conviction and prescriptions. Commenting on de Gruchy’s observation about the attitudes of churches during apartheid, Ekakhoi (2009:267) declares: “While most, if not all, English churches were in the forefront of the struggle against the apartheid regime, De Gruchy (2005:95) argues that Catholics and Lutherans were not as visible as the other English churches in this regard”. Indeed, some denominations did become increasingly “pie in the sky”, maintaining that religion and politics should be kept separate and that the role of the church was to comfort people who could not change their situations in this life, while preparing them for reward in the next. Many of these think that Christians are people who do not belong to this world even though they live in the world (Philippians 3:20; Ramasamy 2004:111). Such Christians seem to ignore that the God the saviour is a social God, who cannot allow his people to lead a life of socio-political indifference.

Leech (1981) has written a book *The Social God*, in which he describes the God who created the heaven and earth and whatsoever exists as a social God, living and acting in a triune partnership as God the Father, the Son and the Holy Spirit. That is the God who created humans to live in fellowship with each other and communities, cooperating with each other, and fellowshiping with each other in a complete symbiosis in the universe. Such a God could not shed his own blood to redeem a people for himself and leave them to live in this world indifferently, not taking care of the surrounding people and universe.

The history of the church is very instructive in this regard. The church is an institution that has been involved in the transformation of communities, organisations and nations through history (Hehir 1993:16-17; Browne 1996:6-7). Church people have been founders or co-founders of different institutions such as schools, universities, hospitals and many other social organisations (Yago 1996:109-110). So, it would be abnormal for theologians and church workers, today, to restrict the mission of African churches to *so-called spiritual things* only.

In this connection, speaking of the past negative role of the church in Africa, Sindima (1995:216) considers the contribution of the church to social and economic and political transformation as an obligation, saying: “Because Christianity had devastating influence on African societies, it has a moral obligation to play a role in the people’s attempt to recover their identity by retrieving symbols of value and meaning in their lives”.

As concerns the development of the public leadership, churches have more reason to get involved, especially in African leadership development since the Bible they use and call the *Word of God for their instruction and guidance*, in Ezra 6: 9-13 reports on the decree of the king ordering the treasurers to provide for all the needs for the service of the God of heaven; because the king also wanted the servant of God to pray for his welfare, that of the kingdom, and of his sons. If the king needs the servant of God to minister to him, the people of God should equally be prepared to offer their service and in a proper way. Moreover, speaking of the cultural and socio-political role of the church, Sindima (1995: 218) has this to say:

Churches are obliged to participate in the process of building social structures that will foster the values and aspirations of people. However, the churches need to develop a praxis informed by both the Christian message and traditional values. An authentic practice will emerge only after developing a biblical hermeneutics for a people in a changing socio-economic and political reality.

Then, follow discussions on being and behaviours of the church concerning social and political actions and contributions, and how they affect social mission in one way or another.

3.3.1 Church, spiritual and social institution

A substantial number of church workers consider church work as purely and simply a spiritual one. Consequently, dealing with social things taking place within the communities where they are working is seen as unspiritual and devilish. Aboum (1996:99) speaks, for example, of how the Protestant churches of Kenya, especially those with an evangelic orientation chose not to involve themselves in projects for socio-political transformation. Even profitable social projects coming from socio-political arenas are sometimes regarded as unwelcome. Along these lines, reporting on the findings his research project on church and social responsibilities, Ramasamy (2004:128) remarks: “In answering the question on the mission of the church (...), 100 percent saw it as engaging in evangelistic work and saving souls, but 13 percent included the answer, ‘fighting for justice’, while 7 percent also included social action”. However, following some unacceptable socio-political actions, African churches have started considering the role of the Church differently. For example, commenting on the mission of the Kenya Episcopal Conference, the Church of the Province of Kenya, National Council of Churches of Kenya, Ecumenical church in Kenya, and other independent churches, Aboum (1996:98-115) extensively explains how these churches had intensive socio-political and economic involvement in the life of their people. Partnership interactions with the State were established, training programmes for political preparation of church members, of larger community people and of political party leaders were drafted and implemented. Earlier reports from the colonial Belgian Congo, now DR Congo, name Simon Kimbangu as a church leader who played a pioneering transformational role in the

1920's because of his socially and spiritually transformational acts and teachings, and liberation pronouncements against colonialism (Chome 1959:15-16).

It is often unfortunate to notice that when people develop a narrow spirituality, they wind up spiritualising everything to ignore the spirituality of the material things; the following four things need consideration about the spirituality of material things. When not considered to the just value this spirituality has serious consequences on the “spiritual life”.

3.3.1.1 Spirituality of material things

There are cases where temporal things have a high spiritual value. Paul's following exhortation to Corinthian Christians to assist the Jewish Christians who were in material needs is a typical example; he then wrote to them in 2 Corinthians 9:10-14 stating:

[10] Now may He who supplies seed to the sower, and bread for food, supply and multiply the seed you have sown and increase the fruits of your righteousness, [11] while you are enriched in everything for all liberality, which causes thanksgiving through us to God. [12] For the administration of this service not only supplies the needs of the saints, but also is abounding through many thanksgivings to God, [13] while through the proof of this ministry, they glorify God for the obedience of your confession to the gospel of Christ, and for your liberal sharing with them and all men, [14] and by their prayer for you, who long for because of the exceeding grace of God in you.

Prayerfully, Paul indicates that God's temporal and eternal blessings may abound for the cheerful givers; meeting physical needs of others can have material and spiritual benefits for the benefactor, the beneficiaries, and for God's own glory. MacArthur (1997:1778) explains that “Paul viewed the entire collection project as a spiritual, worshipful enterprise that was primarily being offered to God to glorify Him”. He also equated Corinthians' obedient submission to God's word with the evidence of true confession of Christ as Lord and Saviour. The project equally provided an important opportunity for the Corinthians to test their own faith as well as for the Jewish church to get convinced that the gentile conversions had been real. Then John MacArthur observes further on the same page that the 14th verse illustrates the truth of mutual prayer is at the heart of authentic

Christian unity, stating: “When the Jerusalem believers recognized God was at work in the Corinthian church as a result of its outreach through the collection ..., they would have become friends in Christ and prayed for the Corinthians, thanking God for their loving generosity”. Commenting on 9:14, Adeyemo (2006:1408) says: “The fellowship of believers, expressed concretely here by the joyous sharing of the goods that they themselves had received from God, fills those who benefit with thanksgiving to God and leads to warm prayer for their benefactors. Assisting people in physical needs is a powerful ministry first of all to God himself, then to oneself, and last to the neighbours; benefits are first of all spiritual before enjoying their material being affectively.

3.3.1.2 Relative spirituality of material things

Agreeingly, Redekop (2007:109-110) reports the words of a Christian theologian, M. Richard Shaull, who said that *the question of my own bread is a material one, but the question of my neighbour's bread is a spiritual one*, especially, that of my neighbour in need. The bread I have, I can eat it or not, it still remains something that can be used in any good way. But when I have bread and know that my neighbour needs it to survive, I just keep it or refuse to give it to the one who eagerly needs it, that bread becomes a spiritual challenge because the Lord expects me to assist the needy neighbour. My refusal to help the neighbour can have very severe spiritual implications. The criteria for deciding whether a thing is only material or spiritual are often convincingly difficult; but for those who believe the authority of the Bible to decide on such matters they can still refer to scriptures which exhort Christians to consider the conscience of the other not to sin against them. 1 Corinthians 10:23-30 is one of such scriptures. Commenting on the passage, Adeyemo (2006:1389) observes: “So Paul adds some practical advice about what to do in other situations. As he has already stressed, the guiding principle is to do only what is beneficial and constructive (10:23) and to always take into account the good of others (10:24)”.

3.3.1.3 Integral spirituality of life

It is equally important to have adequate knowledge of the culture of the people whose spirituality should be decided upon. For instance, in Africa, traditionally, a daily living is

never divided into material and spiritual or sacred and not sacred life. Pato (2000:93-94) has this to say:

It has been often said that the African has a sense of the wholeness of life. Indeed, African life and practice is characterized by the motif of wholeness. For instance, in African religion there is no separate community of religious people, because everybody who participates in the life of the community automatically participates also in its religion. There is no separate day of worship because the whole rhythm of daily life is a continuous liturgy that permeates such commonplace things as eating, drinking, ploughing, working, etc. as Desmond Tutu so aptly puts it: the African worldview rejects popular dichotomies between the sacred and the secular, the material and the spiritual. All life is religious, all life is sacred, all life is of a piece.

Though nowadays many Africans are prone to a dualistic worldview because of strong foreign influence according to Van der Walt (2001:103-104), it is important to know what the original life of an African is in order to be able to minister to them very efficiently (Tutu 1973:46).

3.4 Involvement of churches in social mission through centuries

As seen in Section 3, Christianity has been there for generations and it has been actively involved in social service to the surrounding communities for centuries. Dealing with the historical side of church involvement is essential to show that social mission has always been a duty of the church even though it has not been fulfilled in a consistent way. Though some Christians avoid studying church attitudes, behaviours and actions in its history, Wright (1992:9) encourages dealing with its history observing, for example: “The rootedness of Christianity in history is not negotiable; one cannot escape from the Enlightenment’s critique by saying that history cannot question faith”. N.T. Wright has chosen to highlight the aspect of questioning Christian faith through history. But the concern here and now is particularly about developing the conviction that social mission is a historical truth that needs to be regularly exercised. Trying to recapitulate the story of church involvement in socio-political transformation, Hehir lists some names of well known church fathers stating:

The Catholic Church's relationship with the political order begins with the Roman Empire and is still being worked out today. The *dramatis personae* are relatively well known. On the ecclesiastical side it is Ambrose and Augustine, Aquinas and Vitoria, Lammenais and Pius IX, John Courtney and John Paul II. On the political side the names are (Hehir 1993:16-17).

As a global body organised in local churches and organisations, the African and global church generally rely on their rich spiritual and cultural resources, their social and advantageous positions to realise as much as they can for the surrounding communities as the subsection has shown. However, considering that church denominations and their organisations generally respond to social mission appeals differently according to their varying doctrines and mission philosophies, it is appropriate to indicate here that all the churches or all their organisations have not been equally involved in the social missions; but some sections of the churches have depending on their own contexts. Speaking of the varieties of religious presence and mission in public life, Roozen, Mckinney & Carroll (1984:87) regroup religions into This-worldly religions that stress the establishment of the Kingdom of God in society, justice and a critical posture toward existing social structures, and into Other-worldly religions, which stress salvation in a world to come and personal witnessing to and sharing one's faith with others, and the like. In DR Congo, the Church of Christ in Congo basically tends to be other-worldly, in practical themes, while the Catholic Church tends to behave this-worldly (Tshilenga 2005:166; Ekakhoi 2009:267-268).

3.5 Analysis of church resources to reach socio-political transformation

As mentioned earlier, churches and their organisations have been important socio-political transformers through centuries. They have been able to bring about many socio-political transformations because of the various and rich resources dealt with and studied in details later. Effective use of the resources has led to significant transformations; poor results have consequently sanctioned the efforts of poor church workers in most cases as discussed also later on. The resources are discussed in the following three main points.

3.5.1. General knowledge, experience, and ability to collaborate and influence multitudes

Commenting on the mission of the church as promoter of justice in the world, Wilfred & Susin (2007:88) have this to say: “It has been noted that Christians have very good doctrines on the promotion of justice and human rights”. Because of its highly educated leaders and members, of its extensive relationship locally, nationally and globally, church as an institution holds useful skills, experience and connections that can make it more effective. Even in Africa where things seem worse, the churches and their related organisations are counted better in these respects (Mugambi 1995:225). Their presence in various spheres of society and their general know-how, their members can easily bring together people and communities and help them to collaborate for transformation locally and internationally as seen below despite weaknesses as discussed in the section 3.6. Speaking of the social actions of African church leaders with different socio-political leaders leading to the Third Republic in Madagascar, Rakotonirainy (1996:157) observes:

The First National Convention organised by the FFKM between 16 and 19 August, 1990, is the most significant of church leaders’ involvements in events leading up to the formation of the Third Republic. ... Discussions revolved around five major issues: education, training, health, the economy and politics.

The FFKM is the acronym for the Christian Council of Churches in Madagascar. The author explains later on how this organisation invited hundreds of leaders from churches and many other religious organisations of the country, from different political parties and other social, professional and civic associations to discuss the five items mentioned above. Ultimately, the participants concluded the convention with projects for socio-political transformation and practical things which led to a peaceful realisation of their Third Republic. While describing churches’ involvement in social mission, he equally points to the churches’ resources which can give them success in their enterprise though complete success still requires much struggling (:159).

3.5.2 *Spiritual capital: intercession, biblical teachings and their practice*

Capitals are useful resources that can be used to gain an upper hand in a given situation. Encarta 2007 explains that a capital is an advantage derived from or a useful resource which can be used in a particular situation. Spiritual capital as used here represents spiritual advantages or resources that are available for Christians, which they can use to be successful in their social missions, especially, in the mission of developing a transformational leadership. Referring to the New Testament teaching on intercession, Barth (1939:62) asserts:

If we review the New Testament exhortations to Christians on the subject of their relation to the State, we are certainly justified in placing intercession (1Tim. ii.) in a central position, as being the most intimate of all, and the one which includes all others. But we must be careful to see just how all-inclusive this particular exhortation is. Christians are called to offer “supplications, prayers, intercessions, and thanksgivings” for all men, and in particular for kings and all who are in positions of authority.

Barth’s comment on 1Timothy 2:1-4 shows not only how the passage is all-inclusive, but also how central it stands to the work of socio-political transformation (peace, social justice, honesty, piety, transformational leadership development, salvation and knowledge of the truth). A comment on “includes all others” can be important here. An efficient intercession is not just something abstract or subjective; it includes a number of things including, speaking and acting, teaching, convincing and transforming people before transforming their environment. Commenting on *first of all* in 1 Timothy 2:1-4 in his *Intercession for the nation*, Hagin (1996:1-10) says that God wants us to do the first thing first in order for us to be blessed. And the first thing here is interceding for the leaders of the nation. This is the thing that pleases God. When we put it first, God will answer our prayer and allow us to enjoy peace. He will allow the spreading of His Word freely and widely. Mission being a comprehensive activity that involves spiritual and temporal things, when effectively exercised all the involved parties have full benefits.

Insisting on the idea of praying for leaders, Halverson (1982:23) observes: “Prayer for leaders is not optional, it is mandatory. Not to pray is to disobey a clear

command from God”. The scriptures above and comments of the different scholars indicate the particular role of intercession as an important capital for leadership development and socio-political transformation.

Underlining the importance of the Bible in Africa, Kinoti & Waliggo (1997: 8) allege: “The Bible is the scriptural pillar of Christianity. For the church and Christians, it is of supreme authority. Thus Christian teaching must derive from the Bible”. And Nthamburi & Waruta (1997:51-52) continue saying: “For African Christians, the Bible has come to take the place of the traditional ancestor whose authority cannot be disputed. Like the word of the ancestors, the message of the Bible will never be obsolete and cannot be supplanted”. The African church is also one of the institutions the most spread and that is generally abreast with the most people. It is the best-organised institution that also has many highly educated people of the continent. Speaking of the Catholics in the world, Bellagamba (1992:77) states: “In the realm of secular knowledge, Catholics in all parts of the world are among the best educated people and hold high positions in the fields of politics, economics, academia, medicine”. Agnes C. Aboum instantly encourages church’s involvement in struggles for democracy and general socio-political transformation. After her investigation in the socio-political involvement of the church in Kenya, she declares: “The various churches have been active in the areas of human rights, peacemaking, civic education and development” (Aboum 1996:95-96). So, biblical teachings can be aware of the real needs in that context and of the different skills available in the church to teach and empower the people and use them for effective transformation as was done by South African Council of Churches (Lamola 1996:179). It can be considered that it is because of such awareness and consequent contextual teachings that the Madagascar church could proudly state:

Religious leaders in Madagascar have long enjoyed a moral authority that has earned them the title *raiamandreny*, or “wise parent.” The fact that religious leaders have managed to establish a common ground where political leaders have generally failed reinforces their authority. The FFKM’s member churches thus constitute a pressure group that has proved effective over the last few years (Rakotonirainy 1996:157).

It can also be suggested that because of such biblical teachings and of their application that the Zambian Commission appointed by President Kenneth Kaunda to

resolve a socio-political crisis in the country could conclude by recommending: “‘People and politicians are turning towards the churches for guidance,’ the report said, adding that there was need to examine what leaders could do ‘to preserve unity and peace’” (Sakala 1996:124).

Accordingly, to make their influence effective and sustainable church workers and thinkers generally make careful studies and adopt appropriate strategies or theologies in order to reach their objectives. The following section will then be about those strategies or theologies used by church workers to reach transformation through decades. The strategies equally form further evidence and indicators of church’s continual involvement, in a way or another, in the socio-political life of the communities where they have been operating, though interruptions and confusions have also been regular features in their work.

3.5.3 Transformational Theologies and/ Strategies

These are different and intentional efforts made by Christians in a hope to bring about socio-political transformation in human communities. This subsection demonstrates that churches have been variedly involved in socio-political activities and transformation of the human communities where they have been operating for decades. Churches’ involvement has been sometimes very diverse and some other times patched with controversies and contradictions because of their differing doctrines and mission philosophies as explained earlier in 3.4. After conducting a study on the responses of the Evangelical churches in the political situation of apartheid in South Africa, Balcomb (2004:146) suggests the four positions and characterises them as the radicals, conservatives, the protagonists of the Third Way, and the protagonists of an ‘alternative’ community. The radicals were those who openly aligned themselves with the liberation struggle against apartheid. The conservatives were those who openly supported the status quo, usually because of the Pauline injunction to obey the authorities. The protagonists of the Third Way were those who did not agree with apartheid yet saw their major contribution as working for reconciliation and gradual change. The protagonists of the “‘alternative” community were those who did not agree with apartheid but who, rather

than becoming involved in direct political attempts to oppose it, developed alternative methods of countering its influences. The African Christians can also take these four positions in the work of leadership development, but in the specific situation of DR Congo and Operaf the four positions can hardly apply, especially when one considers the findings of Ekakhoi (2009:271-272) and Mutombo-Mukendi (2011:95-99) which show that the Church of Christ of Congo generally supports dictatorships. It is also possible that some members of the Church of Christ of Congo may be characterised as conservatives of some sort. However, Operaf which is a Christian organisation that disagrees with poor political leadership in the continent, but which has developed alternative methods of countering its influences can be said to be a protagonist of the “alternative” community though it is not a denomination.

The various theologies and or strategies used throughout the time evince the intentional commitment and organised efforts of the churches for a successful action in order to make a meaningful contribution to the lives of those communities. Those have been developed and applied in specific parts of the world at a given moment of history after the felt need for transformation. Witvliet (1985:27) indicates that though such theologies are distinguishable one from another, they nevertheless overlap through common features of contextuality, relationship between theory and praxis, and their criticism of ideology. They are specifically referred to in this thesis because some of their aspects can be used for the development of African leadership for socio-political transformation. Because of their common transformational concerns I have decided to term these theologies *Transformation Theologies*, meaning the theologies that Christian theologians have been using to reach the transformation of both individuals and their communities. Though the contexts and circumstances of their births are different, black, contextual, liberation, public, and political theologies are closely related because of their concerns and objectives. Along these lines Martinez (2001: 217) states:

... political theology, liberation, and public theologies are inextricably interwoven with the particularity and concreteness of the social, cultural, and historical contexts in which they were born and in relation to which they formulate the central themes of Christianity and, ultimately, the questions of God.

As for Barnhart and Steinmetz (1988:1159) *transformation* has been in use in English since 1410; it is the act of transforming or a change of shape or form. Encarta 2007 explains the transitive *transform* as change somebody or something dramatically and/or, especially undergoes, for improving their appearance or usefulness; the intransitive *transform* is then to undergo total change for the better. Basically, a deep and fundamental inner transformation is needed to see real change take place. Explicating the concept *transformation*, The Institute for Contextual Theology (2000: iii) says: “Transformation is used to signify the fundamental change of our social, economic, civic and religious structures which thwart the potential development ...” Real structural transformation can happen only after the elements of those structures have undergone deep individual transformation. So, transforming religious, economic and socio-political structures of a community, without seriously working for the transformation of the people of the concerned community, in the first place, such transformation remains spurious and an incomplete assignment. That is why I suggest that true mission of the church for socio-political transformation and leadership development start by transforming churches, their leadership and membership. Individual church leaders who have been really transformed can prepare and work in order to secure the transformation of individual church members; those individuals would then serve as transformation hubs or pillars that would also catalyse first ecclesial transformation and thus lead to the structural and or socio-political transformation of the community.

The initial transformation of church leaders is essential for the first problem is not that church leaders neglect speaking against oppression and exploitation of the people, but also where possible support dictatorships and profit from exploiting political leadership. Real structural transformation can be possible only when Christians and other members of the community are fully aware that their silence is a condemnable complicity. Just to put it as Kritzinger (1988:277), if church leaders can realise that the accusing eyes of the hungry, thirsty, naked, sick people of Congo they have imprisoned in various other sufferings (Matthew 25:31-46), directly or indirectly, and the judging eyes of God are against them to repent and start working for the needed transformation things will be different. Mutombo-Mukendi (2005:119-122) argues that church leaders are responsible for continual poor political leadership; Tshilenga (2005:195-196) shows

that the training institutions where church workers were trained, but I think that the whole responsibility goes back to the churches that selected and sent these prospective church leaders to those institutions. It is also true that many political leaders either come from or still belong to churches, which have equally failed to prepare them adequately for better services to their communities (Muluma 2002:229-234). Here I agree with Greenway (1992:37) who rightfully suggests that the lack of true discipleship for both the growing churches' powerlessness is the main cause of lack of effective transformation.

However, following their involvement in social mission, churches have developed theologies which have been used for socio-political transformation. These theologies are not only a further evidence of churches' involvement in socio-political transformation projects, but above all they constitute a stronger encouragement for more churches to take leadership actions for socio-political transformation in their communities. Though the primary objective of these theologies was not the development of transformational political leadership, they have led to some awareness about socio-political abnormalities, which have raised up leadership such that the status quo of the day was challenged to transform to a certain extent. Black and contextual theologies in South Africa, for example, provoked a massive scholarship and a strong consciousness, a special sense of responsibility and a leadership which led later to the demise of apartheid (Borer 1998:1). This is also why these theologies have been analysed in this thesis to see how they could contribute to the work of transformational leadership development.

3.5.3.1 Black Theology

This theology remains essential for my research because of the Black Africans, who, especially, continue to fall victims of the poor leadership both of black origin and otherwise, of African descent and of other continents. Both the leaders and the led need deliverance through effective transformation as it can be explicit in Chapter Eight. Explaining its origin before defining this theology, Maimela (1998:111) asserts:

Black Theology owes its origin to the unique experience of the people of colour (especially of African descent) in North America and South Africa, where people's blackness was enough justification to subject them to the life of pain,

humiliation, degradation, exploitation and oppression. That is, Black Theology is a particular theological response and is correlative to a unique situation of radical domination and oppression.

Then, continuing he states: “Black Theology can thus be defined as a conscious, systematic, theological reflection on black experience, characterised by oppression, humiliation and suffering in white racist societies in North America and South Africa (:112). Similarly, after explaining the origins of Black Theology as Maimela, Mwambanzambi (2009:230) identifies Simon Kimbangu from DR Congo as one of the initiators of Francophone Black Theology because of his pronouncements against colonialism in 1920’s. On the same page he also mentions Beatriz Kimpa Vita, another Congolese church leader, as one of the forerunners of this theology. Middleton & Miller (2008:116) introduce Kimpa Vita as a religious woman leader who lived in the area that, today, belongs to Angola between 1684 and 1706 and who petitioned the recognition of black saints.

This theology can be said to be a twentieth century expression of the desire of the church in order to make a meaningful contribution to socio-political problems of the time. Commenting on the aim of Black Theology in South Africa and referring to other writers, Maluleke (1995:6) maintains: “It has always been the aim of Black Theology to ‘save Christianity’ (Arnold 1978:74), to ensure the ‘future’ of Christianity in this country (Goba 1980:22) because ‘the credibility of the Gospel of Jesus Christ is at stake’ (Boesak 1984:2)”. Defining Black Theology, Boesak (1977:1) says: “Black Theology is the theological reflection of black Christians on the situation in which they live and on their struggle for liberation”. He later states: “The term Black Theology dates from 1966, when the Committee on Theological Perspectives of the NCBC in U.S.A. wrote...” Commenting on the origin and inroads of Black Theology, Tshaka (2007:543-544) explains:

Through the pioneering work of people such as James Cone and others, Black Theology was transported from the shores of the United States of America to South Africa as an intellectual project that was made possible by the University Christian Movement (UCM) in 1971. All this occurred under the directorship of Basil Moore and was first spearheaded in South Africa by Sabelo Ntwasa. Black

Theology was expressed under the banner of the Black Consciousness Movement of South Africa which owes its being to students such as Steve Biko, Barney Pityana, Harry Nengwenkulu and others who were galvanised by the then political situation into organising themselves into being a vanguard for the black peoples' total emancipation from the pangs into which they were plunged by the white racism in South Africa.

Speaking of Black Theology in South Africa and of its relationship to Black Consciousness, Boesak (1977:139) affirms: "Black Theology and Black Consciousness are almost always mentioned simultaneously in South Africa. This is of special significance in the peculiar political and ecclesiastical situation in this country". Black Consciousness here means a decision towards and an act of solidarity, a black solidarity which encompasses all the different ethnic groups in the black community, sharing the solidarity of the oppressed. It is a positive, conscious determination to break down the walls erected by an Apartheid-inspired false consciousness between "Coloureds", "Indians", and "Bantu". Distinguishing between Black Theology and African Theology in South Africa, Tshaka (2007:544) observes that the latter aimed at the advancement of a theology that takes African cultures and beliefs seriously while the former focused more on the socio-economic and political situation that justified the subservient role and position of those who were not classified as being white.

Expounding the concept of "The divine preferential option for the poor and oppressed" and its aim and how it relates to Black Theology, Maimela (1998: 119) states:

This critical principle is rooted in the divine principle and God's special concern for the disadvantaged who cannot enforce their rights and defend their personal dignity in a racially dominated society. It aims to provide guidance for Christians working for justice for everyone before, during and after social revolution so that new rulers are prevented from becoming oppressors themselves in the created social order by reminding us all that God is offended by human oppressors.

Explaining the development of Black Theology in South Africa, Borer (1998:214) argues that the ideas propagated by black theologians matured throughout the 1970's and continued to evolve within the larger movement called Contextual Theology in 1980's. The movement underwent several distinct phases, paralleling the changes in the

surrounding political context... Prior to the early 1980's, at least two phases emerged: one, dating from the late 1960's to 1976, which can be characterised as a theology of consciousness; and second, dating from approximately 1976 – the year of the Soweto uprising – to 1981, supposedly, the marked year for the beginning of contextual theology proper, which can be characterised as a theology of power. Then, Borer elaborates further arguing:

The first phase can be traced to the early days of the South African black consciousness movement, with the theology accompanying the political movement primarily concerned with bringing a consciousness of the black situation to black people. (:215).

The following Maimela's twofold meaning of blackness in black theological rhetoric can help to have a clear idea of the concept and how it relates to the situation of DR Congo. He then asserts:

First, blackness is a physiological trait, referring to particular people who happen to have a black skin colour and are historically victims of white racism. Second, blackness is an ontological symbol which refers to a situation of oppression as well as to an attitude, a state of mind that is determined to work with and alongside God, who always sides with the oppressed and underdogs to liberate humans for the freedom for which they were created. The latter aspect of blackness is the universal note of the Black Theology, pointing to human solidarity in suffering and struggle on behalf of and together with all the oppressed peoples. When Jesus is called black liberator, it concerns this latter meaning of blackness (Maimela 1998:114).

The twofold meaning of blackness is equally applicable to the situation of the Congolese people. The first is particularly related to their domination and exploitation by western oppressors who have been impoverishing them directly or indirectly through colonialism and neo-colonialism. The second has been typified by the Mobutu's and the Kabila's, and their fellow Congolese cronies and foreign partners' ill-treatment and systematic impoverishment. Unfortunately, no significant theological endeavour has been made in the country to free their people from this blackness though Simon Kimbangu of Congo is said to be one of the initiators of Black Theology since the 1920's as stated by

Mwambanzambi (2009:231). Theological reflection and transformation strategies need to be coordinated for sustainable results as detailed in Chapter Eight.

The relationship between Black Theology and Black Consciousness is so close that Boesak (1977:139) declares that “... Black Consciousness is Black Theology (or very closely related)”. And Borer (1998:215) justifies this closeness by the fact that both the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) and Black Theology originated with the same organisation, meaning, the University Christian Movement (UCM) and many leaders in the BCM core organisation, the South African Students Organisation (SASO) were seminarians. Black Consciousness Movement worked a lot to conscientise the Blacks about their values and right to dignity and Black Theology helped to fight for leadership and socio-political transformation. Conscientising Congolese of their rights to a dignified living, economically and socio-politically and assisting them to be able to win back such a dignified living constitute a few of the things they can earn from such a theology.

3.5.3.2 Contextual Theology

Summing up the evolution of Black Theology in South Africa, throughout Contextual Theology to the Institute for Contextual Theology, Borer (1998: 226) goes on to say:

In sum, by the end of the 1970's, several theological ideas had emerged in South Africa, which together constituted a new universe of religious discourse. In this discourse, Christian Mission was seen as working with the poor and oppressed, and an emphasis on working for social justice was now the focal point of the emerging theology. This theology was uniquely South African, an amalgamation of ideas coming from the Christian Institute, Vatican II, black consciousness, black theology, Latin American liberation theology, United States black theology, European political theology, as well as ideas which originated within both SACC... These various influences came together in 1980's to create an indigenous South African liberation theology, which later, came to be called contextual theology. The ideas of the preceding two decades continued to evolve throughout the 1980's and were further refined, as well as institutionalized in the Institute for Contextual theology.

To clarify the use of Contextual Theology in South Africa, the Institute for Contextual Theology (2000: ii) says:

In South Africa the concept of 'Contextual Theology' is defined by the Institute for Contextual Theology (ICT) as the conscious attempt to do theology from within the context of real life in the world. Thus ICT speaks of contextualising when a full account of socio-religious, technological, people's struggle, and the Biblical processes are in dialogue.

Such a general and simplified wording of a theology makes it easily applicable to all the transformation and/or liberation theologies as they all start from and intend to deal with the real life in their own contexts. The Contextual Theology is of a specific interest to the thesis because it was born because of the prevailing situation of an exploiting leadership and of the oppression of the common people of South Africa; this situation led later on to the change of leadership pattern and socio-political transformation.

Speaking of the Christian movement that led to the demise of Apartheid, Borer (1998:10) explains that often the movement is referred to as *Prophetic Christianity*, in recognition of the fact that theology draws heavily from the Old Testament prophets, who consistently stress God's concern for action and justice. The term contextual theology is used because of the theological analysis taking place in South Africa, which was heavily influenced by the social and political contexts in which it occurred.

Despite continual situations of socio-political exploitation, domination, kleptocracy and victimisation of the common people, the consciousness of the Church of Christ of Congo is never raised enough to seriously practise a contextual theology for the benefit of the nation. The Catholic Church has been the only church that has made a sporadic but somewhat regular effort to analyse the context, and take some action towards a change, especially, opposing oppressive dictators (Ekakhoi 2009:226). The context analysis as conducted in this thesis intends to propose concrete course of actions to sensitise and stimulate the Church of Christ of Congo to be constantly aware of their spiritual and socio-political responsibility in the country so that they can search their context, reflect upon it, plan for action and act effectively for the needed leadership and socio-political transformation at various levels.

3.5.3.3 *Feminist Theology*

Keane (1998:122) alleges that feminism became identified with the movement for the liberation of women. The starting point was woman's experience of being treated as a second class citizen. That one of the chief aims of feminism is to correct that imbalance by promoting an alternative way of looking at life which takes seriously woman's giftedness and experience. However, one of the major aims is not to "feminize" the world, but to make it more human and hence more just. In its more moderate forms, it should not be seen as anti-men as much as a pro-people movement. Moreover, it should demonstrate the extent to which life can be enriched when women are allowed to exercise their gifts without hindrance, for the sake of the common good, for the sake of the reign of God. Explaining Christian Feminist Theology and the task of its theologians, the same author states: "Christian Feminist Theology, which is a branch of feminism, drew its inspiration from the secular Feminist Movement. Women of faith are aware of their disposition in church and society and are asking critical questions in this regard" (:122). To summarise the task of feminist theologians later, she explains:

The task of feminist theologians today, therefore, is to criticize abuses in the church which seriously affect them. They react against being excluded from church offices, and will not submit to their ministries being perceived as 'marginal'. They are not willing to conform to the feminist stereotypes of patriarchal culture (Keane 1998:122-123).

As this theology aims at the inward/psychological transformation of women and the improvement of their ministry positioning and socio-political life, it is also an effective part of the transformation theologies. This theology is important for this research because women continue to be excluded not only from church leadership, but also from political leadership; they also continue to suffer from many other injustices. In today Congo, women and children are the worst victims of various abuses. While scores of women are widowed, thousands are raped (UN News Centre). A theology which can seriously consider putting them at the heart of the praxis, protecting them, defending their rights and working for effective socio-political transformation is needed. Because it can be

reminded here that an abused woman like any other person cannot be a transformational leader (Van Rensburg 2007:61-62). One of the aspects church involvement in the community can deal with is women's transformation, empowerment and leadership development at various levels.

3.5.3.4 Latin American Liberation Theology

Defining Liberation Theology, Martinez (2001:21) says that "Liberation theology is a way of doing that originated in Latin America in the late 1960 and that currently is widespread throughout the world, present in every continent". Expounding Liberation Theology in their words, The Institute for Contextual Theology (2000: ii-iii) also says:

Liberation Theology: a conscious attempt to do theology in the revolutionary situation of Latin America. The context of the theology of liberation is the experience of poverty, powerlessness, and domination, of being totally dependent culturally, economically, politically, and psychologically upon the so-called developed nations of North America USA) and Europe (Spain and Portugal).

Martinez (2001:217) explains the context of the birth and orientation of Liberation Theology arguing that Liberation Theology was born as a theological response to the experiences of systemic poverty, death, and nonpersonhood, in the context of a society founded on the grounds of colonisation, dependence, and underdevelopment, in which the excluded, the nonpersons, have started to make their voices heard. In this respect, Liberation Theology represents a radically new kind of theological voice, namely, a voice that represents the so-called Third World theologies. Liberation Theology seeks to formulate Christian theology from the perspective of the nonpersons. In that sense, this theology wants to respond, on the one hand, to the experience of suffering and death. On the other hand, it aims at interpreting Christianity in a way that is relevant to people's liberation from all kinds of exclusion, dependences and exploitation. On his part, speaking of the liberation pursued by Liberation Theology in South America, Gustavo Gutiérrez (2004: 56-57) observes:

The liberation of our continent means more overcoming economic, social, and political dependence. It means, in a deeper sense, to see the becoming of humankind as a process of human emancipation in history. It is to see humanity in search of a qualitatively different society in which it will be free from all servitude, in which it will be the artisan of its own destiny. But in order for this liberation to be authentic and complete, it has to be undertaken by the oppressed themselves and so much stem from the values proper to them.

In this respect, Liberation Theology is also a necessary line of theology for Africa, and especially for DR Congo, to see its people becoming progressively and surely free from all servitude and handicaps. These same people need, as stated above, to be prepared to become effective artisan of their destiny and overcomers against their oppressors from within and without the continent. Though Martinez (2001:21) claims that Liberation Theology is now spread all over the world, in the beginning it was accepted only by some so-called marginal Catholics; and nowadays it remains misunderstood by many churches in DR Congo, which still continue to support dictators after decades of political independence (Tshilenga 2005:166). That is why the dimensions of “Socio-political Discipleship” that deal with socio-political conversion (8.3.4) and church-involvement-into-community life (8.5.3) have taken seriously the conscientisation and involvement of church people in the transformation of their communities in Chapter Eight.

3.5.3.5 Nation-building and Reconstruction Theologies

These are post-colonial theologies that reflect on how to encourage and carry out transformation within former colonies and in transition situations. Commenting on the kind of theology which is needed for the transformation of the lives of individuals and the communities where people have been oppressed and exploited for too long such is the case in the Third World countries, Villa-Vicencio (1992:38-39) advises the use of nation-building theology saying:

The Third World requires a nation-building theology of a different kind. The ‘calculated’ political compromises required in the Third World and other situations of transition are not intended to preserve or reform the existing order, but radically transform it. Herein lies the importance of liberation theology for situations emerging from structural and colonial oppression. In these situations the need is for a theology that preserves neither the global status quo nor the neo-

colonial structures left over from colonial days. The need is for a theology which promotes such material and ideological resources as are necessary to facilitate the transfer of resources and power from the few (the rich and the powerful) to the many (the poor and the powerless).

This quote shows that a Third World country like the Democratic Republic of Congo, which still preserves status quo and neo-colonial structures direly needs a nation-building theology for complete transformation. The Congolese people need a theology which can help them get transformed spiritually, socio-economically, structurally and politically in a sustainable way. As much of their suffering has been orchestrated from the level of leadership, the whole people can be empowered so that they can no longer accept poor leadership in the country.

Theorising further on nation-building theology, its specification and agenda, he posits that a theology which fails to address the most urgent questions which are asked by ordinary people (...) is not theology at all. It is a false theology. False because a theology has the critical and permanent task of promoting liberation from every form of captivity in each new age (Villa-Vicencio 1992:39-43).

Nation-building Theology has a special obligation to enable and empower the nation to realise the highest ideals which may be enshrined within a new society. For this to happen those who are oppressed are, without being parochial or isolationist, obliged to look to their own resources and discern the Spirit of the Lord within their own culture, history and identity. If an agenda of nation-building does not take the church beyond debate into the actual process of shaping the character of society, the church will again have failed to demonstrate that its pronouncements on social justice ought, in any way, to be taken seriously by those whose concern is to reconstruct society in the wake of the devastation left behind by dying and dead societies of corruption.

The two poles to be avoided in a nation-building theology are clear from what has already been said. The one is the absolutising of relative political systems and ideologies, which suggests that God can exclusively be identified with a particular political option. The other is the use of divine absolutes to reduce all political systems and ideologies to the same level of inadequacy and sinfulness, allowing the Christian to remain theologically indifferent to specific political choices. To effectively build African nations

and free their peoples from oppression and exploitation suffered up to now from their poor leaders, African churches need to set up adequate nation-building theologies for the development of the required political leadership.

Another aspect of nation-building theology is what Mugambi (1995:xv) calls Reconstruction Theology. Defining *reconstruction* in Africa, Sindima (1995:218) observes:

Reconstruction is a human attempt to make human life worthwhile; it is about people and their future. The project is about how people can take hold of their destiny by reconstructing relations within their society and recording their means of production as their symbols inform them. At stake in contemporary Africa is human life and when human life is at stake, the future of all creation hangs in balance.

Almost prescriptively, describing Reconstruction Theology, Mugambi (1995: xv) states:

This theology should be reconstructive rather than destructive; inclusive rather than exclusive; proactive rather than reactive; programme-driven rather than project-driven; people-centred rather than institution-centred; deed-oriented rather than word-oriented; regenerative rather than degenerative; future-sensitive rather than past-sensitive; co-operative rather than confrontational; consultative rather than impositive.

JNK Mugambi has put forth this theology for the specific aim of rebuilding the African continent after years of its cultural, economic, and socio-political destruction. He wishes to see people planning and working together for a successful reconstruction. But a successful reconstruction often requires the knowledge of why, how, when, was the destruction done and even who did it, and what exactly the person destroyed. This makes also the past an important factor of reconstruction. And since the destroyers are not far gone, paying close attention to them, to their attitudes, behaviours and activities is also an important part of reconstruction. In the main, this description indicates essential aspects of liberation or else of political theology, which tries to bring about the transformation of both the individuals and of their community (Halvorson 1969: 279). Speaking of national

security ideologies and theology of reconstruction as special mission of the church, Villa-Vicencio (1992:22-23) specifies saying that in emerging nations where situations of reconstruction, however, are often plagued by internal divisions and suffering in the aftermath of prolonged and exacting wars, the primary theological task is often a different one. Here the church is frequently required to share in the creation of a culture of national unity, given to tolerance, compromise and moderation. Then, describing how to practically come to actual theology of reconstruction, he states:

For the dreams of the oppressed to become a reality they are to be translated into political programmes and law-making that benefit those who have longed for, and fought for the new age while protecting the new society against the abuses which marked past oppression. This ultimately is what a liberatory theology of reconstruction is all about (:29).

He further argues that Christians, in places where transition and renewal are happening, need not to, and probably should not, follow the theological models of the First World, nor should follow their political, economic and social inventions. The existence of African, black and other theologies in South Africa, together with Third World and liberation theologies elsewhere suggests that the break with classical theology has already taken place (:37-38). Redefining Reconstruction Theology and theorising further on its effective practice, Villa-Vicencio observes:

A theology of reconstruction is pre-eminently a contextual theology. It explicitly addresses the present needs of a particular society. It is at the same time a retroactive theology, seeking to correct the causes of previous suffering and conflict in society. The critical analysis of past and present structures is an essential ingredient of the theological task. Nation-building theology must emerge in relation to posing tough and uncomfortable questions about the economy, international alliances, national development programmes and such local issues that affect the lives of ordinary people at a material and spiritual level. For this to happen church leaders and theologians continually need to be exposed to the insights of critical economists, social scientists and political analysts. Theology and ministry outside of this encounter is at best simply irrelevant. At worst, wittingly or unwittingly, it can become part of national lie (:41).

In this connection, the reconstruction of DR Congo will require Congolese theologians and otherwise to have correct understanding of the causes of the previous suffering and conflicts which have taken place in different parts of the country and what changes have happened and the way they did happen. Various causes of poor leadership of the country also need a thorough analysis. These insights help for the healing of the poor leadership and for the prevention of its recurrence in the future. Though this inventory of Christian theologies concerns just some marginal sections of the churches, it shows that those Christians have been contributing to social mission for socio-political transformation. The “Socio-political Discipleship” in the eighth chapter has integrated these important aspects of reconstruction theology so as to affect positively the lives of church people as a whole and empower them for effective transformation in the land. The 8.5 of Chapter 8 has taken reconstruction theology into the very community to be able not only to work for the community reconstruction, but above all to know the real needs of the community and work together with them for an effective nation-building.

3.5.3.6 Political Theology

This is a theology which considers a social, economic, cultural and political life of a community, a people or a whole nation in its historical context in order to bring about needed transformations. Describing the implications for political theology, Assmann (1976:33) specifies that

a theology of the historico-political development of man is only possible (and basically necessary) in so far as it relates to an ethic of change, and in so far as it accepts political action as a means of transforming society. Such a political theology has to desacralize not only the nature, but all the institutions of the status quo.

The same author calls this theology, *new European political theology* because of its stand against evil socio-political status quo and its action for social, economic, cultural and political transformation (:30).

Etymologically, the term political comes from Latin polis, meaning city, town, State. World Book (2007:1613) defines *political* as an adjective, meaning, of the State or

its affairs, of or again concerned with politics. Barnhart (1988:813) also explains that *political* is an adjective borrowed from Middle Ages French *Politique*, and directly from Latin *Politicus*, or Greek *Polīkós* meaning of or having to do with citizens or the state; civil, civic. *Politics* is then defined as science of or a treatise on State organisation, affairs of the State, questions of policy. *Political theology* can then be understood as a theology that is concerned about seeing the city, town, village, a community or even a nation being governed after Theo's or God's will. Transformation theologies such as Black Theology, Contextual Theology, Liberation Theology, Public Theology and Reconstruction Theology that equally intend to see communities being governed according to the will of God in their own contexts can do so as part of the political theology for this theology is more inclusive in meaning (Martinez 2001:53; Downey 1999:1). Referring to such African theologies as listed above and more, Mutombo-Mukendi (2011:19) suggests that they are all part of the Political Theology because of their nature and socio-political transformative intent. Downey (1999:26) maintains: "Political theology can mean several things and is therefore ambiguous". Describing this theology according to Metz, Martinez (2001:57) states:

He defines political theology as a practical fundamental theology. By practical fundamental theology, he means a fundamental theology that is practical in two ways: on the one hand, it is intimately related with the concrete history and stories of the church(es), of society(ies), and of the different groups within those church(es) and society(ies). This plurality is crucial for Metz, since theology cannot be just an abstract reflection or "humankind" or "society" or "church" but it is intimately linked with the concreteness of people, church(es), and society(ies). On the other hand, and consequently, political theology is practical because it comes to understand the situation of people, church(es), and society(ies) on the one side, and the Christian message on the other side, in and through a praxis that, based on the concrete biblical narrative, takes sides to favor always the subject, the oppressed, the destitute, the conquered, and the dead.

Studying the political theology of Johann Baptist Metz, he states: "Political theology is love's strategy" (:3). Speaking of its action and relation with other theologies, he declares, "Political theology calls all theology to be political, to engage the concrete

human world with its social relations, cultural justifications, economic positioning and all the rest” (:1). Then, theorising on the necessity of this theology, he alleges:

Since the theology of the world is not a mere theology of the cosmos or a mere transcendental theory of the human person and existence, but a theology of the emerging political and social order, this theology of the world must be a political theology. An eschatologically oriented theology must place itself in communication with the prevailing political, social, and technical utopias and the contemporary maturing promises of a universal peace and justice (:23-24).

And speaking of social and political challenges of the day that call for political theology, he states:

Conditions which are directly inconsistent with the gospel, such as exploitation and oppression or racism, are becoming challenges to theology. They demand that faith be formulated in categories of resistance and change. Thus theology is impelled to become political by its own logos (:130).

Later again, he concludes: “The new political theology is the attempt to talk about the times, more precisely, to discuss the prevailing historical, social, and cultural situation so that the memory of God found in the biblical traditions might have a future” (:167). Mutombo-Mukendi (2011:17) defines his African political theology as the one which can effectively conduct a systematic critical analysis of the society in which the churches operate, of the church themselves and of the theologies used by these churches to come to the effective planning for the needed transformation. Speaking of this theology and of its social responsibility in the 1980’s, Martinez (2001: 68) says:

On the one hand, political theology must respond to the important ideological, cultural, and ethical changes taking place in society and also to the changes taking place in the church. On the other hand, in so doing, it must continue its effort to **maintain its** own theological position more explicit, both formally and in content, dealing more explicitly and directly with the question of God.

After discussing the idea that Enlightenment is intrinsically political, and that political theology responds to the situation created by the Enlightenment; that Enlightenment, i.e., the liberation of humanity on the basis of reason is not primarily a theological enterprise; that it is only possible for theology to deal with it, if it includes a political dimension that takes into account that reason that can be emancipatory, and if, it is aware of the social and political factors that condition that reason; then, he asserts: “On these bases, Metz comes to the conclusion that political theology is not a regional theology but a basic approach that must characterise any theology” (:52-53). Theorising on political theology, on its effective practice and objectives, Halvorson (1969: 279) alleges:

However, if this theology of hope rooted in a past historical event is not to be lost in fascinating speculation of the future or obscured by endless reconstructions to understand the way “it really was” (both of which sidetrack the church from realizing the future in the present), then it must be disciplined by what might be called “political” theology, a theology actively engaged in the change of individuals and institutions. Political theology cannot, however, be realized either in the seminary, or (I hasten to add) in the streets alone. It requires mutual understanding and inter-dependence between classical theological disciplines on the one hand (seeking to understand the past and its promises as clues to the future) and the actively engaged “street” theologians on the other (exploring the future and discovering clues to the past). Both must find new ways of sharing together the aspirations, frustrations, structural analyses and strategies which the present historical situations provide as the basis for realizing what God opens for us.

This citation is richly instructive in the sense that it insists clearly on the double-sidedness of this theology. Both serious research for deep insights that can lead to effective practice and active involvement are needed for real transformation of individuals and their communities. Political Theology can thus be said to be a theology of economic, cultural, social and political transformation where the search of the Kingdom of God to come and his will to be done in the community is naturally constant.

The social, economic, cultural and political transformation of DR Congo needs a political theology which can seriously investigate the past and present life, behaviours and actions of the church, history and life of the people of the land for the church to take the insights and work for nation-building. The chapter 8 of the thesis finds inspiration

here so as to help the church, its leadership and membership to transform themselves spiritually and socio-political in order to be able to work effectively with the larger community for leadership development and socio-political transformation.

3.5.3.7 Public Theology

Recognising the weaknesses and limitedness of the church in its living and acting in South African difficult times, a South African scholar Dirkie Smit observes that the church of Jesus Christ is indeed a very human church, of failure and unfaithfulness; yet it remains the church of Christ, and precisely in such difficult times, the thought, speech and actions of the church may matter. Then, being public church and doing public theology may be called for, not because the church is perfect, but because it is obedient, living witness to the goodness and loving-kindness of the living Lord (Smit 2007:155). He earlier explained the importance of these actions of the church saying: “The all too human church is called through the Holy Spirit to be witness in the world of the humanity of God, of the goodness and loving-kindness manifested in Jesus Christ, the face of the living Triune God” (:151). The hard times experienced then by South Africans are currently the spiritual, economic, social and political sufferings and misery of the Congolese people who also require effective actions of the Church of Christ of Congo and those of the global church for real results.

For TS Maluleke, public theology is not really a different or a new theology in the sense that many of its claims seem to be already part of the claims of other transformation theologies. Called to respond to the lecture of Professor Storrar on Public Theology, at the University of Pretoria, Maluleke (2008:4-5) observes that Public Theology seems to be an effort to define and rebaptise what exists already rather than something really new. What it claims to be and to do is no different from what was done by many in Black and or Contextual Theology. It is no different from the voices of the Mosalas, Dubes, Landmans, Matlhabis, Phiris, Masenyas, Chitandos and even Malulekes that have been aired to make theological claims for the South African and African voiceless publics claiming their rights and dignity in their time. Despite these remarks TS Maluleke did not conclude that this theology had no role to play in this context.

Struggling to give meaning to Public Theology, Benne (1995:4) suggests: “Public theology, I think, refers to the engagement of a living religious tradition with its public environment – the economic, political, and cultural spheres of our common life.” And describing Public Theology, Thiemann (1991:21) declares:

Public theology is not a specialized discipline or a technical subspecies with a unique method of inquiry. Like all Christian theology, it is guided by the Anselmian credo “I believe in order that I may understand.” Public theology is faith seeking to understand the relation between Christian convictions and the broader social and cultural context within which the Christian community lives.

Along the same lines, Martinez (2001:170) says that Public Theology is by no means univocal and therefore, it is open to different interpretations. That is why it is described as the effort across many denominations to formulate a theology that justifies its claims so as to make them publicly shareable and therefore relevant for the public realm. Positively put, public theology aims at making Christian theological claims public and at contributing to a post-modern society with the liberating and critical resources of the Christian tradition (:217-218). Considering the perpetual political leadership crisis in the Congo, the Church of Christ of Congo has legitimate responsibility to do theological claims to the churches of the country, to the academic world, as well as to the larger community and particularly to the leadership to sensitise them for deep and sustainable socio-political transformation.

This theology has a specific contribution to make to my research, which is the effective way African, and especially, Congolese churches can speak of and/or to themselves, to the community and to the African political leadership and how to develop the much needed leadership that can cause real transformation in the continent. Congolese church leaders have been used by political leaders for bad causes for too long; it is high time they should go public and make positive religious claims for the oppressed and exploited people of their land. The involvement of the Church of Christ of Congo in the community life must also be to make clear Christian claims (Maluleke 2008:4-5) through effective actions to have constructive influence in the public realm as claimed by their counterparts from Zambia and Madagascar, for example, as indicated earlier. Summing up the influence of the church in Zambian public life, Sakala (1996:124)

declares: “People and politicians are turning towards the churches for guidance ...” And after expounding on different church programmes with church people, community people and politicians for socio-political transformation in Madagascar, Rakotonirainy (1996:157) concludes: “Religious leaders in Madagascar have long enjoyed a moral authority that has earned them the title *raiamandreny*, or “wise parent.” The fact that religious leaders have managed to establish a common ground where political leaders have generally failed reinforces their authority”.

3.6 Contribution of the surveyed transformational theologies

The study of these theologies contributes a lot to the subsequent development of the thesis. The consensus among them against the status quo and about seeking socio-political transformation as well as a keen interest in the spirituality of persistent struggle which indicates a high degree of hope in a better future of their communities have prompted plans of actions with hope for effective change in this thesis. All these theologies started with the experience of massive suffering, oppression and exploitation of the majority by the rich dominant class; as a result, this thesis has analysed African as well as foreign oppressive and exploiting powers and their actions to be able to work for the development of effective leadership and for socio-political transformation.

These theologies show that Christians read the Bible and related materials and interpret the scriptures in their specific socio-political context as suggested by Witvliet (1985:31) who wishes to see theologians consider critically the Bible, socio-political literature and the context of the praxis of theology for an effective liberation theology. Consequently, this thesis has been interpreting biblical texts and various socio-political materials in the proper context of the African poor leadership, which has caused the misery of many. Such readings and interpretations have offered the thesis the necessary insights for a constructive work of leadership development and socio-political transformation in Africa.

The theologies analysed church ministries and workers with disappointment; they also analysed specific socio-political contexts and cases to understand the root causes of the problem in order to fight the causes and reach effective socio-political transformation.

The study of the transformational theologies has also inspired a church and socio-political analysis in the chapters 4 and 5 of the thesis to get to the bottom of the poor African leadership in order to plan and work for effective development of a transformational one. All these theologies seemed to follow the praxis circle in their hope and work for transformation. Different praxis circle dimensions have also been followed to the end of the study.

Chapter 8 of the thesis addresses seriously the problems of sufferings, social exploitation, injustice and poverty, basically caused by poor political leadership as analysed in chapters four and five to systematically plan and practically train and involve both church and community people in the transformation of their communities after the instructions of these theologies, experience of leadership development practitioners and Bible inspiration.

3.7 Analysing weaknesses and/ or pitfalls of church social mission

As shown below scholars' studies and practitioners' experiences have suggested that though churches have been involved in social missions for decades and centuries, it has been noted that church workers' weaknesses or pitfalls have seriously affected their abilities to transform communities around them. That is why this section has analysed the weaknesses and the causes, the actions committed by and behaviours of the church workers that can disempower them and disqualify the churches for effective socio-political roles, and specifically for political leadership development. These weaknesses have also inspired me for the organisation and development of the seventh chapter and part of the eighth chapter of this thesis. The following are such actions and inabilities.

3.7.1 Ignorance

Not learning and/or teaching socio-political transformation is part and parcel of this problem. This ignorance is a serious spiritual and socio-political problem. It is reminiscent of lack of political conversion or its incompleteness. Explaining political

conversion, Dorr (1990:14-15) observes that it is a conversion to political responsibility. Being politically converted involves the understanding of how one's society is structured and how it works, and the commitment to correcting injustices, not only on an ad hoc basis but also by replacing the unjust structures with those that are equitable. It is simply impossible for someone who does not know what is happening in his/her community to teach about the transformation of the concerned community. So, responsible church and other religious and socio-political leaders need to have such knowledge to be able to effectively teach their people. Commenting on the irrelevance of some types of Christianity found in Africa, Van der Walt (2001:102) observes: "This type of Christianity is not capable of providing a positive, creative response to the crisis. It does not even address the real, burning issues of Africa, but simply tries to escape from them". Accordingly, speaking of truncated spiritualities, Kretzschmar (2006:352) has this to say:

A truncated spirituality would include what Gerard Hughes has termed a 'split' spirituality or what others have termed a privatised or socially irrelevant theology. Huges defines split spirituality as one in which 'God is confined to Church, religion, the sacred and the intangible (Hughes 2003:3). Such spiritualities promote religious escapism and avoid speaking out against radical evil, whether expressed, for example, in the form of domestic or national violence. Such spiritualities pose no threat to the status quo. They do not lead to transformed lives, have no social relevance and do not challenge authoritarian leadership, in either the church or society.

Consequently, as mentioned earlier, such theologies and spiritualities and attitudes on the part of church leaders will almost never contribute to any positive change for socio-political transformation that is needed in this continent. Since they never transformed the lives of those who practice them, those spiritualities will equally never transform the lives of the people towards whom the theologies will be practiced, or those of their communities. Ignorance may be the consequence of lack of correct information as well as that of proper theologies and/or spiritualities. Sometimes, such truncated theologies can simply develop into passive spirituality and social and political indifference as shown below.

3.7.2 Indifference

Not speaking up against social injustice and exploitation is one aspect of this indifference. The other may consist in just sitting back and look aloof, unconcerned by what is happening around. Seemingly, such negativity and political irresponsibility appear to be general in the church, especially, among Africans. Deeply saddened by the negativity and civic or political indifference and irresponsibility of the Africans from the European churches, Kimba (2000:345) urges saying:

You only need to change your low-minded attitudes, telling you that you are too insignificant and powerless to support and offer or forge Africa's future from the European continent. We all have to change our insensitive behavior which makes you feel good as, after all, we are well off ...

Remaining unconcerned when many around you are being killed or doomed to a slow death process of hunger and misery, it is really a political choice and complicity as described by Kritzing (1988:275, 279); such complicity is sinning as indicated in Romans 1:32. Comment on sinning by complicity in this passage, Fleming (2009:491) suggests that "when people know their behaviour is wrong, they persist in it, and reassure themselves by approving of the wrongdoing of others"; they also sin by complicity. Such attitudes and inactions are visible expressions of lack of love and compassion, things that many expect from others, but unfortunately that they are rarely prepared to offer to their own brothers and sisters or neighbours.

3.7.3 Siding with the ruling or dominating and exploiting powers

History of the church is pregnant with horrible examples and testimonies of church's shameful involvement in activities with these exploiting powers. Speaking of the South African situation, for example, Van der Walt (1996:1-2) explains how Dutch Reformed Church persistently defended apartheid. Accordingly, speaking of the Western evangelisation and colonisation in Africa and Latin America, Wilfred & Susin (2007:87) wonder:

Why is it that the Western (Christian) evangelizing (and enslaving) powers also happened to be the colonizing powers? This disturbing coincidence finds its epitome in the former Portuguese colonies. Portugal, a very Catholic country, had no qualms in colonizing, and in some cases killing, those it colonized in Latin America and Africa. In addition to this, there is hardly any explicit condemnation of colonialism in the works of theologians, let alone in the social teachings of the Church. It is even more surprising that there is not a hint on this in the progressive Vatican II document *Gaudium et Spes*. The Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, 7 December 1965.

This short analysis shows that the Western countries and Churches generally were not able to stand for and promote justice and democratic rule in Africa because they were compromised right from the beginning. This is not just a theological statement but also an anthropological and ethical one, which condemns the Europeans' inability to promote justice and democracy outside their countries.

As clearly expressed in this long statement, siding with the dominant and exploiting powers, these Western Christians have become unable not only to defend justice, but also to act justly because of their wrong practice and attitude. So the positive way forward in this regard consists in a preferential option for the underdog and the poor. Commenting on and supporting the work of the *Western returned missionaries* that have to be empowered to be able to play a significant role on their return to their native countries, Bellagamba (1992:12) alleges:

If this is a duty for all missionaries, it is even greater responsibility for missionaries from the countries of the northern hemisphere. These countries, with their enormous wealth, military power, and political influence, are one of the major causes of the poverty in the world, and often become the supporters of oppressive regimes. Reserve mission as promotion of justice through changing unjust structures in the rich countries is a necessary component of mission.

Later on the same insisted stating:

One of the greatest scandals of our age is the way the churches are still linked with the powerful, the rich, and the oppressors. How little of their energy is spent on defending the poor and on allowing their ministers to move with and to support the struggle of the poor (:92).

From this point where it is spoken of church's complicity in the exploitation of the weak, the next point will deal with repentance of the church of its implication in exploitation

and colonialism activities. The same situation was prevalent in the colonial Congo and still is long after the official independence of the country as shown later in the thesis.

3.7.4 Failure to repent of exploitation sins

Repentance is essential prior to any spiritual, social and political renewal of life and prosperity. Speaking of the importance of repentance and its exceptional impact on the whole people, Villa-Vicencio (1993:253) observes:

There is no *cheap grace*. Religiously, there is no route to national renewal which does not go via repentance. Repentance, in the sense of a national apology by the exploiters to the exploited and an uncompromising commitment to build a radically different kind of future, is the only appropriate response to come from those who have promote and/ or benefited from apartheid.

Underlining the importance of confession and reformation, Sindima (1995:219) states:

By reforming from within, the churches will be better prepared for the transformation of the larger society. Transformation from within will lead churches to confess mistakes and sin of past and to conversion. Their conversion will be demonstrated in willingness to identify with the lot of the people. In addition, a hermeneutics of life will aid Christians in their understanding of the Bible.

As it is shown later in the pre-colonial, in colonial and post-colonial history of Africa, church played a major of negative role although (Rodney 1982:252). To make a real contribution to the transformation and reconstruction work in the continent, the African church needs to repent of its negative activities as partner of colonial and dominant powers. That is also why an emphasis has been laid on the Church of Congo confessing and making the needed practical arrangement before any other things in 8.2.

3.7.5 Unethical behaviours and /or immorality

Immorality and/or unethical behaviours of the church people, especially, that of church leaders generally spread like wild fire and extensively discredit church people, destroy

the confidence of many in the church and outside to the extent that a lot of people are stopped from real conversion to God and from effective commitment for socio-political transformation. Speaking of the negative consequences of church people's public unethical conducts, Prozesky (1990a:138) states: "The result is confusion about the fundamentals within the churches, skepticism outside and a reason for politicians to ignore the attempts by religious leaders to influence national affairs". In this regard, what happened to Bishop Pius Ncube, who was the fiercest critic of President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and his administration is very instructive. Some, like Kretzschmar (2006:342) considered Pius Ncube as one the greatest Christian prophetic leaders of Africa because of his outspokenness. But when he was reportedly embroiled in sex scandals, he found himself compelled to quit (Vatican Quick to Replace Pius Ncube).

3.7.6 Non-practice of the biblical teachings

Fleming's comment on Romans 2:17-24 can suggest some negatives of the inability of the people who claim to belong to and serve God to practise their own teachings. He observes: "Jews were proud of the blessings they enjoyed as God's people. They boasted that they knew God's law, and thought that they could teach it to others (17-20). But they themselves did not practise what they taught, and so brought shame on the name of God (21-24)" (Fleming 2009:491). The same contradictions sometimes make havoc in churches, nowadays, and create confusion and incredulity within and without the church. Consequently, the development of public ethical leaders becomes mere impossibility (Prozesky 1990b:138).

So, It can be suggested that for churches to really have a significant success in the development of transformational leaders, church people, especially, the leaders must see to it that they live up to their own teachings. Otherwise, all their efforts in this regard will be nullified by their wrong actions and attitudes. To support this prerequisite and commenting on the prior transformation of missionaries and church workers, De Beer and Venter (1998:33) insist that transformation is seen as the goal of contextual theologies. The missionary, minister or Christian worker must be transformed as well as the church or organisation and as these individuals and groups experience transformation,

they will also be able to facilitate the transformation of their communities. Teaching good things while remaining unable to practise them winds up in assured failure. Accordingly, speaking of their experience of the limitation of the mission of the church to promote justice in the world, Wilfred & Susin (2007:88) explain that

it has been noted that Christians have very good doctrines on the promotion of justice and human rights. However, the Church has sometimes been hampered in its mission of promoting democratic rule based on justice and respect of human rights within its structures and society because of the failure to understand and apply properly its own teachings and laws.

I also consider this Hauerwas' statement as of an exceptional value here. Speaking of changing others through imagination, he consequently has this to say:

I must try, like Milton, to change lives, my own included, through the transformation of our imaginations. I must do that using the leaden skills of the theologian, which at their best are meant to help us feel oddness and beauty of language hewn from the worship of God. Theology is a minor practice in the total life of the church but in times as strange as ours even theologians must try, through our awkward art, to change lives by forming the imagination by faithful speech (Hauerwas 1994:5).

Preparedness to personal transformation would be most helpful idea for it encourages many of those who listen to the sermon of the preachers to make more effort for their own transformation; consequently, for that of their community.

3.7.7 Lack of intercession for socio-political transformation

Despite the important role intercession can play in leadership development and socio-political transformation (3.5.2), most research done to evaluate the degree of Christian intercession, in general and that of intercession for leadership development and socio-political leadership, shows that intercession has been poorly done. Speaking of poor use of intercession for leaders, Wagner (1992:19) observes: "The most underutilized source of spiritual power in our churches today is intercession for Christian leaders". Prince (2000:46) states that most of Christians never pray seriously for good government. If ever

any of them intercedes, only few do this with scriptural conviction. Such a negative report on the intercession of the church of Christ for their leadership can also explain why so many misdeeds are committed among today's leaders. Writing about the importance of intercession for leaders, Wagner (1992:34) explains: "I wrote these ... because I feel that it is important for us to understand that intercession for leaders although it may be underutilized today, is a biblical concept". He later specifies saying: "In other words, 5 percent of the church members in the average congregation provide 80 percent of the meaningful intercession" (:40).

At the conclusion of a conference on the role of a pastor in the transformation of a nation hosted by Operaf DRC, from 20 to 22 August 2002, one of the recommendations was to invite churches and host three days of prayer and fasting (Operaf 2002b:40).

3.7.8 Denominationalism and similar dangerous divisions

Church people sometimes are so emotionally committed to dividing societal situations and structures that its unity and efficiency for transformation become difficult if not impossible. Denominationalism as Van der Walt (1996:2) calls it, or isolation into denominations and other Christian groupings often, plays a great weakening role for unity and effective collaboration. Aware of such dangers and pleading for the unity of the church in South Africa, Naudé (1996:37) states: "I believe that any denomination in South Africa which wishes to live, testify and minister in isolation from other denominations, will eventually wither and die or become largely ineffective as a church". It is fairly common to see scourges such as racism, nationalism, tribalism or ethnicity, many other ambitions that abound in the church and the larger community, especially, the African community, equally undermine the church. It is true that one has to love one's nation, clan or ethnic group, but when she/he is emotional about it to jeopardise Christian love and unity, serious caution is needed. Such are also some of the things which have weakened the Church of Christ in the Congo.

3.7.9 Incapacity to develop people fit for the job of transformation

In this regard, it seems to me that the church very often neglects an important aspect of their mission. Even though Matthew 28:19-20 is considered as the Great Commission of the church and many go out to preach the gospel, in practice, very few take a little trouble to fulfil the mission of making the true disciples of Christ. Because of this lack of proper discipleship in the African church and the superficiality of the faith of its members, Adeyemo (2006:1303) says: “The African church is sometimes decribed as a mile long and an inch deep...” Making the disciples of Christ entails mainly training people and developing the character and image of Christ in them so as to be his real representatives within human community where they live (Barna 2001:17-18). The person readily prepared to serve God after his will is rarely groomed accordingly. In this regard, speaking of true intercessors, Mostert (2007:149) is fully correct in observing: “Plans and methods were subordinate to the person who prays and ...” If church leaders would have this mission of making effective disciples of Christ at heart and properly play rightly their part, they would serve their God better in this world.

More care is needed to groom and prepare people in whom the character of Christ is fully developed and socio-political qualities are formed after destroying antisocial defects that often lead people to numberless socio-political misdeeds to avoid future social disasters. In general, superficial Christianity leads to moral irresponsibility, unwillingness to be accountable to the community, dissatisfaction and moral confusion. Speaking of the importance of spiritual formation, Kretzschmar (2006:348) observes:

People’s moral confusion and dissatisfaction are reflected both in anti-social behaviour and in their scepticism concerning the importance and power of the spiritual dimension of life. Moral irresponsibility, unwillingness to be accountable to the community, increasing disregard for authority, and disinterest in God are all features of this spiritual malaise.

This incapacity to develop ethical people for the welfare of the community at large seems not to be restricted to African churches only. Reporting on the criticism of Os Guinness on the incapacity of the American evangelicals to deal properly with moral formation Charles (2002:226) has this to say:

Cultural critic Os Guinness identifies what he believes to be strategic or “tactical” errors that are recurring in evangelical attempts to develop a “public witness.” Evangelicals, he notes, have frequently concentrated their efforts in domains that are peripheral to society rather than central. Correlatively, they have relied heavily on populist strengths and rhetoric rather than addressing “gatekeepers” of contemporary culture. Moreover, and critical to the viability of an evangelical social ethic, we have sought to change society through political and legal means rather than contending in the marketplace of ideas at the intellectual level. Thus, evangelicals have tended to rely on “a rhetoric of protest, pronouncement, and picketing” rather than on moral persuasion.

The point here is not that “rhetoric protest, pronouncement, and picketing” are inherently wrong; because there are seasons in which Christian communities should absolutely feel called to such strategies. But that moral formation and adequate social ethic development are essential for effective church mission as a prime social transformer. As seen in 4.6.4.2, the Church of Christ of Congo is not immune of this scourge.

3.7.10 Inability to practise transformative Christianity

Before effective establishment of the church Jesus Christ pictured its social role through the symbols of *Salt* and *Light* saying: “You are the salt of the earth ... You are light of the world. ... Let your light so shine ... that they (people) may see your good works and glorify your Father in heaven” (Matthew 5:13-16; Kalemba 2011:12). Both terms bespeak life, its maintenance and its transformation. Effective Christianity, in this context, means a Christianity that is totally and socio-politically responsible. From the report of Van der Walt (2001:101) on the growth of the African church, it seems manifest that the African church is one of the fastest-growing churches in the world. But unfortunately, this church has only a very little impact on the cultural surroundings (political, social, economic matters). Consequently, such a situation calls for a different and transformative Christianity, the one that can positively influence church members to be able to bring about the needed transformation on the continent; a church that can bring its work beyond mere evangelisation and ecclesiasticism, a church that can do more than maintenance within itself in order to produce transformation both within and without. It

can therefore be concluded that large non-influential Christianity is not helpful for the transformation of the community at large (:104). This ineffective Christianity seems also to have something to do with the life and character of the church theologians and /or workers who have influenced most of church life as it will be seen later on. Speaking against shallow African spirituality, Adeyemo (2006:1303) also suggests that church leaders have failed in their discipleship work.

3.7.11 Lack of reliance on God's providence in this regard

It is sometimes amazing to see a considerable number of ministers, in today's knowledge society (Drucker 1992:4), who forget that this is not only a knowledge society, but spiritually, it is also a very complex and sophisticated one. Such church workers simply choose to rely on their own power and know-how instead of relying on the extraordinary help of the Holy Spirit as they use their full potential. Thus, they leave out almighty actions of God, which, in general, make their ministry look much more like a work of social workers than real work of God. Kretzschmar (2006:348, 352) speaks of cases of Christians or else church leaders who exclude God from culture, politics, economics, environmental debates, and the media. It would then be worse if God would be found excluded from the ministries of the people who claim to be his own servants.

Human ability alone can hardly bring about social transformation and real leadership development for socio-political transformation. For as already mentioned earlier, most of socio-political leaders rely heavily on and use diverse evil powers to be successful, performing thus destruction in their dealings. The observation of Renou (2001) can be clearly instructive in this regard. Reporting on his findings about the relations between some African elites and their European masters, he declares:

Pro-French elites in Africa are selected through various means, including the promotion of the French language (as opposed to English), and the maintenance of close relations between the main actors, including heads of states.

These *special relations* are reinforced in some cases by a common belonging to a Free-Masonry lodge. African Heads of State such as Idriss Deby (Chad), Blaise Compaoré (Burkina Faso) or Denis Sassou Nguesso (Congo) belong to the right-wing Grande Loge Nationale de France, where they can socialise with two former Minister of Co-operation, the former head of the French secret service,

ambassadors and personal advisers, all related directly to the French African policy and its dirty tricks (Renou 2001:421-422).

It is almost impossible to touch and change the life of such elites through mere human know-how and ability, in order to make them available for real transformation and service to their people that they have been mistreating for years. Commenting on the theology of the manifest power of God, in this connection, Banza (2003:52-54) observes that in general the Holy Spirit manifests Himself according to places and times, but also according to the way people trust in this Spirit and why they approach God. Consequently, the Holy Spirit affects people, affects their life, their philosophy of work and their theology which makes the whole thing different. The theology of God's manifest power is a theology by which God makes himself more manifest through mighty and palpable signs, miracles and wonders. Unfortunately, sometimes, when one is highly educated and well off and has socio-political power in his/her hands, she/he hardly needs God. She/he turns to be God for herself/himself, or else these values are her/his own God. But when she/he sees palpable and extra-ordinary things done by the spectacular power of the Holy Spirit, she/he can feel the need of such a special God. This same lesson I learn from most, if not all, of the cases of conversion of prominent people in the Bible, or at least, of their acknowledgement of the God of Israel as the living one, the God of Gods and Lord of Kings (Daniel 2:46-47; 2 Kings 5: 14-15). Commenting on the former, Fleming (2009:330) observes: "Though Nebuchadnezzar was forced to acknowledge the superiority of Daniel's God, he did not yet acknowledge that he was the only God (46-47)". And the latter, he says: "Naaman's knowledge of the one true God was still imperfect, but at least he had a more sincere faith than many of the Israelites (15.19; cf. Luke 4:27)" (Fleming 2009:137).

This theology also has the same positive effects in Africa today and in most Third World countries. Congregations where such theology is effectively used, one may find such prominent people as cabinet ministers, members of parliament and rich business people, etc., who are really committed to God. These congregations are also generally big and spiritually and socially powerful (Anderson and Hollenweger 1999:28-29). Here, these people feel secure and protected against witchcraft and other evil powers (Anderson

2000b: 117,121). But where the situation is different, even though there are such eminent people, they generally remain “spiritual bats” as Ukpong (1984:11) would call them, Christians in the Church, yet using magic or other evil powers for their protection (Anderson 2000a: 381).

The three cases of Christians who experienced a particularly serious commitment after seeing a palpable sign of the power of God in Pretoria come to my mind in this connection. The first one was that of the wife of a Congolese diplomat who nearly died in his hospital bed; but who, after a prayer by a leader of the International Church of Pretoria, was healed and became very involved in the life of the congregation. The second is that of a couple, a medical doctor and his wife who was also a medical doctor. A few months after the wife became pregnant, she went to hospital for a pregnancy check up. She was, unfortunately, informed that the foetus could not develop normally; that there was a grave mental and physical defect. That even though the baby might develop to maturity, she would be seriously mentally and physically handicapped. The only solution was abortion. After talking to the senior pastor who exhorted them, telling them about the creative and re-creative power of God, and who prayed for the healing, the couple went back home and decided to see the same gynaecologist again for another test. To their happy surprise, everything was perfect. More than ten years later the girl is continually mentally and physically healthy and the parents are very committed to God. The third one is that of the ambassador of Benin and his wife. They became happily revived and exceptionally strengthened in their faith in God after observing one of the diplomats from their embassy who was almost dead instantly revived just after a short prayer, and after seeing a few of their personal problems that seemed too difficult to them solved in a miraculous way.

Regular opportunities for such powerful testimonies to be heard or given are really edifying and very effectively empowering (Ndungu 1997:53). African Operation published a leaflet of such testimonies that happened among African leaders to whom the Organisation ministered to see their strength renewed in the Lord (Operaf 2009:1-5). One aspect of such testimonies is what Anderson (2000a: 379) observes here: “People are not only convinced by the triumphs of Christianity but also by its trials”. For instance, one undergoes various failures and sufferings but remains faithful to God through the power of the Spirit.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has helped to analyse and understand the public or social role of the church in today's society, particularly in the African society, its potentials and the requirements for its effective success. The church and its membership have been studied; the study suggests that the church of Christ is a very powerful multinational and multifunctional institution that has been commissioned to make disciples of all the nations through words and deeds (Hauerwas and Willmon 1990 42). Through centuries Christians have been involved in the business of spiritual and socio-political transformation of both individuals and their communities in a way or another as seen earlier. The chapter can also suggest that the development of a leadership for socio-political transformation is an integral part of the mission.

The information collected has been very important for the planning, strengthening and furtherance of the argument of the subsequent chapters of the thesis. Information revealing the weaknesses of the mission because of the ignorance, indifference or unethical behaviours of church people, especially of the leaders and their inability to practise transformative Christianity, for example, have provided me with insights on the prior development of the transformed church leaders in Chapter 7 and the necessity of developing Christians fit for effective socio-political service to the community in the eighth chapter of the thesis. Various church transformative interventions have been very inspirational for the sections 8.4 and 8.5. Inspired by the transformative aspects of theologies such as Black, Nation-building, Contextual, Feminist, Liberation, Political and Reconstruction Theology, the socio-political and proactive church has been proposed and encouraged to analyse its context, reflect on it in order to plan and work effectively to reach deep transformation of individuals and the community at large.

It has been found that the universal church as well as African churches and their people have extensive potential for the transformation of individuals and communities at various levels. The church leadership and membership have wide socio-political knowledge, and the African church is one of the best organised and widespread organisations of the continent; church people have a rich spiritual potential that can help

achieve much. But to really qualify for such work church workers need high qualifications: spiritual, ethical and/or moral, intellectual and socio-political qualities and the needed willingness to do so. They need to abide to observe their teachings and distance themselves from complicity with exploiters and evil political leaders. In short, they need to be really transformative in order to be able to fulfil effectively their mission. Speaking of theologians as trained missionaries, Phan (1996:114) maintains: “The theologian is one who is converted – intellectually, morally, and religiously – that is to say a well-transcending subject who falls in love with God unrestrictedly”. Bevans (1998:99) states: “Theology is possible only for the converted subject, only for the person who has allowed God to touch and transform his/her life”. I consider such deep conversion to be a primary requirement for all those who are called to practise theology so as to become effective in their work. Churches that lack in some of these qualities, especially their missionaries, despite their academic qualifications will generally disqualify in parts of their missions or totally fail.

As seen in 3.5.3, each of the transformation theologies analysed has been born, developed and used in a specific context before reaching their global fame. So, after introducing the theme of this research, analysing the theories of leadership and discussing the public social mission of the church, it is opportune to analyse a specific context of an African country, i.e., the Democratic Republic of Congo, in which the projects for transformational leadership development have to be applied first.

CHAPTER FOUR

DR CONGO: A CONTEXT ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter answers the question: “What is the context of DR Congo, particularly, in relation to the development of a transformational leadership?” by analysing the context of this country. As concerns the missiological praxis, the chapter deals with the contextual understanding of the Congo. The assumption being that the poor African leadership is a generational issue that has grown up through centuries, has led me to delve facts through the history of Africa, in general, and that of the Congo, in particular; the discovery of the deep historical causes of this leadership affords then a strong basis for sustainable results for its better understanding. Such a scrutiny requires a systematic analysis of the social, political, cultural, economic and religious aspects of the life of the Congo/Africa that can help to understand well and handle the development of the African political leadership for socio-political transformation effectively. The analysis also provides essential elements for the possible rupture with the atavistic and present behaviours of the citizenry linked to the past of the country in order to forge a new ethic and mentality for individual and collective transformation (Kä Mäna2005:53). Through this analysis different leadership descriptions feature in important aspects of the praxis circle that indicate clearly who are the leaders, what kind of situation they have created in the community through their leadership, what is the spirituality or social values that have led the leaders to behave the way they have and why and/or how they have happened to do what has been done in the community.

The chapter is then comprised of the sections on the land and population, economic life, education, religion, political life, and leadership development to see how these particular domains of the life of the country have impacted on the development of the political leaders. These specific features will be examined according to different historical periods of socio-political influence on the Congolese people. Those include pre-colonial period, colonial period and post-colonial period. In this connection, I wish to indicate that some historians as Tambwe ya Kasimba (2004:49) consider such

periodisation as wrong because of its exogenisation of the history of the country; for him such division suggests that the history of the country was fundamentally determined by the foreign elements. Besides Tambwe ya Kasimba's logic, it is equally fair to recognise the fact of the basic orality of the African traditional culture and the prevailing foreign influence the continent has suffered for centuries as well as the fact that most of earlier authors of the history of Africa, and those of that of Congo used to be foreigners. So, their good or bad influence on the history is not just something to be dismissed. Undeniably, it equally remains true that the history of Africa cannot be written adequately without considering the past and the continuous exogenous or better foreign impact. I therefore use the periodisation in this research not to construe that the history of Congo depends on or comes from abroad, but to emphasise and specify what the country has undergone through different phases of its history. Since my study deals with the issue of leadership in DR Congo, I use a periodisation that reflects the significant changes of leadership patterns in the Congolese history. In this regard the three periods identified here provide a highly appropriate framework for discussing leadership in DRC. The same scholar (Tambwe ya Kasimba) equally considers the use of terms such as *traditional Africa* as inappropriate because *traditional* may suggest something rudimentary, static and barbarous. However, seeing that what Tambwe suggests here is not the unique meaning the term can have, in this research *traditional Africa* is used to connote original Africa, the one with all its moral and socio-political values as found before the colonial period. As mentioned earlier, below follow various aspects of the history of DR Congo as it relates to the development of leadership patterns of the country, which constitute the context analysis in this study.

4.2 Land, history and people

As concerns the land, the region nowadays called the Democratic Republic of Congo was occupied by an array of ethnic groups and state structures, including empires and kingdoms as well as chieftaincies of more or less authoritarian character before the advent of the European control. The Luba and Lunda empires, the kingdoms of Kongo and Kuba, and the militant Zande and Mangbtu dominions were then important examples.

Renton, Seddon & Zeilig (2007:1) acknowledge pigmies, hunters and gatherers living in the forests of the north and north-east as the first inhabitants of the land.

Historically, Europeans claim to have “discovered” this country in 15th century though it has been abundantly reported that the people of the Congo had extensive prior contacts with the outside world (Renton, Seddon & Zeilig 2007:7). Around 1876 the country became personal property of Leopold, King of Belgium (Cornevin 1963:114). This part of Africa thus first took shape as a political entity under the rule of King Leopold of Belgium after the Berlin Conference in 1885 recognised him as the monarch of the Congo Free State. In the early 1900s the international attention was drawn to the Congo Free State by documented charges of maladministration and barbarous methods of economic development used by the Leopold regime, which, with many other factors resulted in its annexation as the Belgian Congo by the Belgian government in 1908 (McDonald et al 1971:29). Hochschild (2006:277) and Abdulai (2001:63) report the king to have subsequently become very rich, with more than a billion American dollars in our time, the money he earned unduly from the Congo. Leopold is specifically the individual political leader of this period whose leadership characteristics are detailed as it is clear in 4.3.2.

Geographically speaking, The Democratic Republic of Congo is the largest Central African country. DR Congo is the third largest African country measuring 2,344,885 square km after Sudan with 2,505,800 square km and Algeria with 2,391,741 square km. The country has a population of at least 64,660,759 and enjoys a very rich flora and fauna; its minerals include abundant copper, diamond, gold, Coltan, aluminium, silver, zinc, petroleum. The country shares a common border totalling 6, 000 miles with nine African nations and has an important twenty-five mile access to the Atlantic Ocean in the west.

4.3 Political life

As indicated earlier this subsection deals with various political aspects as they relate to leadership, especially, those observed through the country’s historical periodisation. These aspects are just dealt with in broad lines that can help to understand what socio-

political life was or is in the country to be able to envisage a transformed better Congo, served by transformational political leadership.

4.3.1 Pre-colonial period

The people who lived in the area nowadays called DR Congo, before the advent of European control, were politically and/or administratively organised very differently according to their own ethnic groups and state structures. In the main, their political systems included empires and kingdoms as well as chieftaincies of more or less authoritarian character, but generally marked by a certain democracy. Their leaders were elected into power or removed from power by the members of their communities who had the power to do so; leaders were normally expected to serve the best interests of the people and not to exploit their people (Pobee 1993:268). Adding to the elections and limitations of the traditional leaders' rights, Okyerefo (2001: 113) insists:

It must also be said that even the communities which had Chiefs had checks and balances in order to prevent them from degenerating into autocrats. That is why on his enthronement the Chief is made to swear that he would never act contrary to the advice given by his elders. Failure to observe this oath is always a just cause for dethronement. He has his royal prerogatives though, but he governs with elders who are functionaries in traditionally determined offices such as linguists, Queen mother, etc.

Unfortunately, with the advent of the European control, a coercive and dictatorial leadership was progressively imposed (Gordon 2002:7). Colonisers would use different social, educational, administrative and or political structures to come to the results they wished to reach; they also exerted undue pressure on family and traditional values and especially leadership systems to almost total distortion (:7). However, as concerns the observation of human rights as is the case today, these African leaders were not always good law enforcement figures. There were cases where some of them, at death, were buried with some of their servants, especially slaves. There were also cases where twins, for instance, being considered as curse, had to be put to death or banished from the community without any protection whatsoever (Rodney 1982:253).

4.3.2 Colonial period

This sub-section examines aspects of Congo Free State and the Belgian Congo that can contribute to better understanding of the present situation of the political leadership of the land, and pave the way to improving this leadership. The Congo Free State was a private property of Leopold II, the king of Belgium, who ruled Congo from 1885 to 1906. Insecure Belgium had just acquired independence from Holland in 1830, and its society contained two distinct linguist groups, speakers of French and those of Flemish; so they needed a strong and dynamic leader such as Leopold. Leopold was therefore enthroned King of Belgium in 1831. The king being a Britain-naturalised subject, there lacked a natural loyalty between him and the people. Wanting this natural bond with the people was a serious weakness for the king; Leopold's strategy was then to build up his own private power. He was clever enough to do that outside Belgium, even outside Europe (Renton, Seddon & Zeilig (2007:21).

As for Hochschild (2006:38-39) Leopold was a ruler in search of colonies for power and especially for making his country rich. By the end of his life the king proved so selfish that he was not prepared even to leave an inheritance to his own daughters (:223-224, 275). Motivated by selfishness and greed the king proved very aggressive to reach this goal. He decreed any vacant land in the Congo to belong to him with all the benefits thereof and companies in which the king had no piece of action had to have hard time operating in the land (:117); Congo state officials and their African auxiliaries swept through the country forcing Congolese, and even seven-to-nine-year children to hunt elephants for tusks that were often bought and carried for pittance or sometimes for no pay at all (:118-1190). Congolese who failed to perform according to the orders of their white masters were to receive 25 times whip slashes at their bare buttocks, which was something horrible (:120-123). No Congolese was supposed to have any human right or dignity to consider; brutality, arbitrary arrests and executions, taking women, children and sometimes chiefs hostage, severing ears, noses or right hands of people who failed to reach their quotas of rubber imposed, from state authorities were just the order of the day in the land (:126- 130, 161-194).

In the Congo Free State King Leopold was represented by a governor general; while the king appointed three senior officials to serve as his advisers in the matters of finance, foreign affairs, and the interior in Belgium. Congo was then divided into fifteen districts, each headed by a commissioner. The system completely disregarded tribal distributions and/or totally reduced or eliminated the authority of local chiefs where they existed. Their chieftaincies were divided into zones and then further into sectors, each ruled by an appointed local official or an African representative (McDonald 1971:36).

Later on, during the colonisation of Congo by Belgium, Congolese were denied social mobility as well as access to economic resources and political and administrative offices. In the same vein, commenting on the disruption of the African traditional institutions of governance and introduction of autocratic rule throughout the continent, Wanyama (2000:109-110) indicates: “The colonialists entirely monopolised political power, denying the colonised an opportunity to participate in politics and, therefore, governance of their own countries. A culture of intolerance and suppression became predominant in ...” This situation predisposed Congolese to view access to political office as means to socio-political advancement, political dominance and exploitation of the fellow-citizens during the period of independence (Leslie 1993:71-72). Speaking of the Belgian system of scientific colonisation and the way the Congolese were brought into a perpetual state of dependence, Gordon (2002:7) observes:

The Belgian Congo, once the richest area of the tropical Africa, became a political neutral zone in the heart of Africa. The colonies were treated paternalistically and were prevented from developing political aspirations of any kind. Through the control of education, food, religion and other resources, the Belgian administration, the mining companies, and the Roman Catholic Church, played a major role in carrying out the ‘civilizing mission’ among the Africans.

However, this statement does not imply that colonisers did not make any contribution to Africa at all. On the contrary, there are benefits in various domains however limited they might seem. Indicating of positive aspects of colonisation, Rodney (1982:238) notes specifically, innovations in modern medicine, clinical surgery, and immunisation. The identification of African nationalities as Congo, Nigeria, South Africa and so on, has

been possible thanks to colonisation or European intervention; otherwise, these entities would have remained and called as individual empires, kingdoms or ethnic groups and not nations as such (Makinda and Okumu 2008:15). These two African scholars even emphasise mentioning that the sentiment of Africa is something which came from outside the continent. So, though the lumping together of different ethnic groups has caused essential disturbance of social structures and destroyed traditional social values, Congolese can also acknowledge colonialism as something that has allowed them to be identified not as an isolated Empire of Lunda, Kuba or Kingdom of Kongo, or Luba, but as a vast nation, The Democratic Republic of Congo.

4.3.3 Post-colonial period

In the immediate post-World War II, there were a few fortunate Congolese that had been given access to education beyond the elementary level and who came to be called *évolués* or *civilised individuals* by the colonisers. Then, the *évolués* started questioning their true role in the Belgian system, demanding emancipation and equal status with Europeans. The Belgian government therefore lost confidence in the future of the Congo as a viable colony; but, at the same time, it proved incapable of constructing a coherent plan for decolonisation. However, by 1960 Belgium hastily convened a Roundtable Conference to discuss Congolese independence. Plans were made in earnest to establish a Western-style parliamentary democracy in the new state. Elections were set for May that year, with independence to follow in June. A new draft constitution, the *Fundamental Law* was drawn up and passed by the Belgian Parliament. Political mobilisation had to be achieved quickly; so, there was no time to develop ideologies or political philosophies with which to win support. Existing ethnic organisations therefore became the vehicle for mobilisation, resulting in the formation of parties largely based on ethnic loyalties. As the pace of decolonisation accelerated after the 1959 riots, attempts were made to create nationally-based parties. So, three such organisations emerged: the Mouvement National Congolais (MNC; National Congolese Movement) headed by Patrice Lumumba, with its base of support in Orientale province and Kasai; ABAKO, led by Joseph Kasa-Vubu, with a strong support in Leopold and the Bas Congo region; and the Parti National du

Progrès (PNP; National Progressive Party), a coalition of ethnic-based parties backed by traditional chiefs and led by Paul Bolya, with its centre of support in Equateur. Basically, the elections in May 1960 took place along ethnic lines. Lumumba's party gained 24 percent of the Assembly's 137 seats, underscoring the fragmentation that existed in party affiliations. As a result, it was necessary to enter political alliances with other parties, such as ABAKO, to form a government. Political figures of the time included Patrice Lumumba, Antoine Gizenga, Pierre Mulele, Moise Tshombe, Albert Kalonji, Joseph Ileo, and Cyrille Adoula (Leslie 1993:19-20).

At last, came the time for the independence of Congo on 30 June, 1960. By September 1960, Colonel Joseph Mobutu, Congolese Army Chief of Staff, took on power and started assuming all executive and administrative authority through his College of High Commissioners (Epstein 1965:51). The people of the country sang and danced for a season; then, their first President, Joseph Kasa-Vubu lost power to General Joseph Mobutu who bloodlessly ousted him and took power in November 1965 (McDonald et al 1971:63). It is essential to note that much of the Congolese' socio-political life after independence, especially up 1990's, was profoundly marked by what the Congolese people went through during colonial time. Renton, Seddon, & Zeilig (2007:86) report, for example, how the colonial rule in the Congo militated against a united national movement and ethnic authorities were set up by colonial state, and how this situation led later to ethnic political organisations and parties.

The first five years of independence were chiefly notable for the assassination of the first prime minister, Patrice Lumumba, in February 1961, various secessions and the intervention of United Nations forces to crush secessions, especially, Katanga secession (McDonald et al 1971:29). Given the model received so far, the situation of assassinations, secessions and coups d'état was but easily predictable. Considering that the colonised inherited violent administration, values of greed and exploitative culture from the colonial masters, Nabudere (2001:13) observes that they could hardly behave otherwise. That is also why even the good moral values acquired through Bible use seemed later on but short lived. It is equally essential to note that the Western hand constantly hid and acted powerfully in all these irregularities of this period: in Mobutu's coup d'état and kleptocracy, Lumumba's assassination as well as in Tshombe's

secession, which was fully supported by Belgium. Nzongola-Ntalaja (2007:232-233) reports how the Rwandan and Ugandan armies trained and supported all through by the West, specifically by US and other western allies invaded and the east of DR Congo, while the West played the blind eye pretending that it was just a situation of a civil war. Justifying why these western countries would behave in this way, he observes:

The 'parochial interests' of the United States and other major powers include maintaining access to the strategic resources of the Congo, selling weapons of war and, in the particular US case, supporting allies such as Uganda and Rwanda, which may ensure this access in addition to being guardians on the frontline vis-à-vis the Islamic threat from Sudan.

Without emphasising that the Western powers are partly responsible for most of evils of the Congo, in particular, and those of the continent, in general, I can state that they have been playing such destructive roles in the continent till now (Leslie 1993:4; Turner 2007:32). Mobutu killed the elected prime minister, Patrice Lumumba on instructions of the Western powers. US President Kennedy rewarded him with an airplane and a US Air Force crew to fly it for him and local CIA officials are reported to have given him large cash payments for killing Lumumba (Renton, Seddon & Zeilig 2007:1-2, 114). The Western powers have been reported to have had spotted Mobutu early on as someone who would look out for their interests in the Congo. The Belgium government, US as well as UN military missions in Congo had plotted for Lumumba's murder (:98). Commenting on the way France had been supporting dictatorship and kleptocracy in Africa, Abdulai (2001:48) observes:

Economically, France has on occasions subsidized most of the corrupt regimes of Africa's postcolonial leadership such as Mobutu, Bokasa, Bongo and Eyadema, to mention just a few. In exchange, its companies in those African countries got the lion's share of government contracts.

Such are but a few of the foreign hands that have been supporting poor leadership development and encouraging evil doing for years in the continent as part of imperialism, neo-colonialism and new liberal capitalism. The recent situation of a presidential election in Ivory Coast where France, USA and UN spontaneously supported and ended up

convincing almost the whole world that Ouatarara won the election based on the decision of the chairperson of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) is a disappointing one (Mbeki 2011:2-4).

Hochschild has written a book on DR Congo, *King Leopold's Ghost: a story of greed, terror and heroism in colonial Africa*. This book details atrocities of the king in the Congo and examining the behaviour of the subsequent leaders of the country up to now, the title suggests that the ghost of Leopold continues to haunt the Congolese through their leaders. Supporting this idea, Renton, Seddon & Zeilig (2007:2) observe: "By contrast, we follow Hochschild in arguing that Leopold was a tyrant. He established habits of private theft and absolute rule that have cursed the country since." As noted earlier, Congolese were ruled autocratically, nepotistically and abusively; corruption and kleptocracy were rife under King Leopold as well as under Belgium Congo authorities. During Mobutu's rule the Congolese people were denied human rights, abused in various ways and corruption was current currency; during the rule of Kabila the father as well as that of the son the people continued to be exploited and abused economically and socio-politically while individual selfish and foreign interests were seriously taken care of. These obscene habits seem to be reverbrated in the public life of politicians as well as that of church leaders ever since: they are selfish and corrupt; they compromise with dictators and exploiting powers and act after religious or tribalistic alignments to the detriment of the socio-politically weak and voiceless (Tshilenga 2005:166).

In all these anti-social behaviours and actions of the powerful against the weak, the African as well as the global churches generally stand among the passive observers of the community. The first victims are often the ordinary Africans; they are disadvantaged and disempowered by various political manoeuvring and manipulations, poor information and education systems, which also leaves them without voice to speak and defend their interests. The section below proposes one of the ways which can be used to empower them. A good education system aiming at the comprehensive development and empowering of individuals and communities according to their real felt needs can make a very significant and sustainable contribution to effective leadership development and socio-political transformation.

4.4 Education and training

Education is a crucial activity in any society for the preservation of the lives of its members and the maintenance of their social structures, and in the production of their leaders. It also promotes social change, development and needed transformation. And as concerns this study, without education no transformational leadership development is possible (Gordon 2002:1-2). Subsequently, I try to examine how education has contributed or can contribute to leadership development of Congo without making any suggestion at this level. Indications are also made on how the same education was used for destructive purposes.

4.4.1 *Pre-colonial period*

During this period the greater portion of education and training of the youth was informal, being conveyed from the example and behaviour of the elders in the society. Under normal circumstances, education grew out of the environment; the learning process was then directly related to the pattern of work in the society (Rodney 1982:238-239). Gordon's description of the way the African youth were trained and groomed to social responsibility, and democratic and servant leadership is also well applicable here. Those youth were to work together for the good of their people, in the process they learnt how to serve according to their age groups, making thus significant contribution to their community transformation and peaceful development. They would choose their leaders or remove them from power after the required qualities (Gordon 2002:2-3).

Apart from informal education and training some formal education was offered in technical domains. Some aspects of African education were formal that is to say, there was a specific programme and a conscious division between teacher and pupil. Formal education in pre-colonial Africa was also directly connected with the purposes of society, just like informal education. The programmes of teaching were restricted to certain periods in the life of every individual, notably the period of initiation or *coming of age*. Many African societies had circumcision ceremonies for males and rituals of initiation for both sexes. Some time before the ceremonies a teaching programme was arranged.

The length of time involved could vary from a few weeks to the Poro brotherhood in Sierra Leone. Formal education was also available at later stages in life, such as on the occasion of passing from one age-grade to another or of joining a new brotherhood. Specialised functions such as hunting, organising religious rituals and the practice of medicine definitely involved formal education within the family or clan. Such educational practices all dated back to communal times in Africa, but they persisted in the more developed African feudal and pre-feudal societies, and they were to be found on the eve of colonialism. As the mode of production moved towards feudalism in Africa, new features also emerged within the educational pattern. There was, for instance, more formal specialisation, because the proportion of formal to informal education increases with technological advance. Apart from hunting and religion, the division of labor made it necessary to create guilds for passing down the techniques of iron-working, leather-making, cloth manufacturing, pottery molding, professional trading, and so on. The emphasis on military force also led to formal education in that sphere, as in the case of Dahomey, Rwanda, and Zululand cited earlier. A state structure with a well-defined ruling class always encouraged the use of history as a means of glorifying the class in power. So in the Yoruba state of Ketu in the nineteenth century there existed a school of history, where a master drilled into the memories of his pupils a long list of the kings of Ketu and their achievements. Of course, reliance on memory alone placed severe limits on education of that type, and that is why education was much more advanced in those African countries where the use of writing had come into being (Rodney 1982:239).

Along the Nile, in the North Africa, in Ethiopia, in the Western Sudan, and along the East African coast, a minority of Africans became literate, producing a situation comparable to that of Asia and Europe before the latter part of the nineteenth century. As in other parts of the world, literacy in Africa was connected with religion, so that in Islamic countries it was a Koranic education and in Christian Ethiopia the education was designed to train priests and monks. Muslim education was particularly extensive at the primary level, and it was also available at the secondary and university levels. In Egypt there was AL-Azhar University, in Morocco the University of Fez, and in Mali the University of Timbuktu – all testimony to the standard of education achieved in Africa before the colonial intrusion (:239-240). The advantage was huge here as socio-political

values were practically learned, knowledge, experience and wisdom for day-to-day benefits of the community acquired, not for selfish or extra-local purposes as it was the case sometimes in the colonial period. Though the content of this education was limited, it still held value for the context for which it was designed. The needed leadership was developed through social community structures, age-groups activities and initiation ceremonies. Gordon (2002:2) observes: “Leadership was ‘of the people, by the people, and for the people’. Its primary elements – consensus building and freedom of expression/speech – comprised the heart of participatory democracy, an open system that included everyone in the decision-making process”.

4.4.2 Colonial period

Christian missions were largely in charge of the education orientation of the Congolese during this time in order to effectively fulfil the “civilising mission”. Catholic missions organised a practical, vocational and religious education system similar to that of the Protestant missions. But its intellectual aspects remained higher than those of the education offered by the Protestants, especially, during the years towards independence. Motivated by the assumption that blacks are intellectually less endowed than the White, an elite intellectual education was to be denied to blacks; so Protestant missions offered a practical husbandry courses, hygiene, civic and moral education to Congolese learners just to help them to become good citizens of their communities, financially and ethically responsible. However, some authors such as W. E. B. Dubois, Marcus Garvey and R. J. Challis criticised the motives behind such programmes as they allegedly intended to prevent Africans from accessing to higher education, subsequently, hampering them from aspiring to political leadership in their countries (Hakiza 2004:231,235, 245). Though it remains somewhat difficult for programmes with negative hidden motives to lead to real development of ethical and transformative leaders of a nation, the Bible that was used as the basis of the moral education seems to have borne some ethical fruit in the lives of some of the political leaders who went through them. Makombo (2004:399) reports, for example, how President Kasa-Vubu, the first president of the independent Congo, refused the increment of the presidential allowance because he considered that the Congolese

people needed that money more than himself or his office; and how he returned unused money to the public treasury of the country without wasting a cent of it. Down the same page, the author also reports that Joseph Ileo, appointed a cabinet minister in January 1963, resisted embezzling Fr. 15 million, the money that was mistakenly not reported in the official books of the Congolese government, allegedly because he feared the omnipresent eye of God. Speaking of positive aspects of colonialism in Africa, Rodney (1982:238) observes that European education has brought about such important innovations as modern medicine, clinical surgery and immunisation techniques. Congolese who had the chance to have this education equally benefited from those innovations; it is also true that they had an education broader and more systematised than what African traditional one could offer them. Ultimately, that modernised education rendered more open to international cultures and global affairs to be able to think of fighting for the independence of their country.

Beside these positive aspects, as this education was principally purposed to staff the local administration and to staff the private capitalist firms owned by Europeans, it was too selective and acculturating. Only those learners who were thought exceptionally intelligent and/or from the families that were submissive to the exploitative colonial will were favoured to study to higher levels (Gordon 2002:8-9). The education was not designed to give young people confidence and pride as members of African societies either. So, it followed that those who were educated were consequently both de-Africanised and Europeanised according to the level of their education (Rodney 1982:240, 249). The happy few beneficiaries of this education were also trained to eat, dress and behave in ways completely different from their fellow-country people; they were ultimately taught to despised, ill-treat and exploit their fellow-Africans. For the colonisers also categorised them as “*Civilisé* or Civilised” or “*Assimilé* or Assimilated”; meaning that their newly acquired civilisation made them so different from others to qualify as assimilated to Europeans. The results of such an education system have been terrible consequences for many decades later (Gordon 2002:1-2). As a result of such an education system, Africa inherited an arrogant, oppressive and exploitive leadership as known during the post-colonial period (:1).

4.4.3 Post-colonial period

The post-colonial time was just bound to inherit the products of colonialism in many ways. Speaking of African intellectuals and institutions, Kagwanja (2000:27) observes that Africa inherited from colonialism a weaker higher education system than Asia or Latin America. Only a handful of former British colonies inherited colleges. There was not a single university in French territories apart from two emerging institutions in Congo – Université Lovanium de Kinshasa in 1954 and L'Université Officielle du Congo in 1956. The scenario bordered the obscene in Lusophone territories. Consequently, Africa's intellectual community was very small at independence. And worse, long after official independence, African states continue to offer education, which was initially established to guarantee systematic control and exploitation of the human and material resources of the African continent (:27, 48). Kä Mäna also observes that despite the political independence of the Congo in 1960, the educational system of the country remains extroversive, that is, especially oriented towards foreign knowledge and interests, which makes it very alienating. It thus circulates mentalities and behaviours developed by colonial, neo-colonial and global visionaries that have shaped the people into a sort of *parrot peoples and leaders*, void of proper creativity or confidence in personal initiatives. This is the education that has not only undermined and distorted African cultural worldview by questioning its system of moral values, but also undone African social bonds to be a probable cause of today's most socio-political ills in the continent (Kä Mäna 2005:163-164). Lack of creativity, dependence spirit and ignorance that are direct consequences of the poor and biased colonial education system hindered African leaders of the independent countries to think of something new and better for the transformation of the continent. However, Kä Mäna later singles out exceptional cases of post-colonial Africa where education tends towards transformational models as that of *projet Tokombéré* in the Northern Cameroon. This project aims at integrating school in the general social structure where family, religions and sanitation collaborate in order to liberate spirits and strongly promote transformational initiatives based on intellectual, ethical and spiritual values. Here, the principle of mobilisation for a global transformation

of mental and behavioural structures, based on a profound bond between spirituality, health, education and socio-political commitment was seriously at work (:171-173).

Between 1960 and 1967 the formal education of Congo developed considerably, especially statistically; for example, primary school enrolment increased from 1,460,753 to 2,193,200, increase of about 50 percent. The secondary school programme showed evidence of developing statistically as education planners had hoped. Four and a half times as many students were enrolled in the secondary schools in 1967 as had been in 1960, an increase from 34,000 students to 150,000. By 1968, three universities and twenty-two non-university institutions offered higher education. In the same year there were 3,476 university students and 200 to 3,000 students in non-university higher education. More than 1500 Congolese students had received university and higher education degrees between 1960 and 1967, and 1000 from the Congolese institutions (McDonald et al 1971:153-157). The content of these programmes remains the most important thing for the development of the needed leadership for the socio-political transformation of the country; unfortunately, empowering programmes for the needed transformation continued to lack.

The numeric academic increase noted above needed at the same time an important moral-education-backing for the development of a prospective effective leadership and for the possible socio-political transformation of the nation. On the contrary, Mobutu's regime almost removed all religious education from the national curriculum and replaced civic education with his party teachings (Kä Mäna 2005:166-167). This educational blunder coupled with generalised unethical behaviours of Mobutu and of his cronies, for more than thirty years, has created a moral degeneration that has become a national plague in the country for even longer after their departure. This situation requires a serious moral re-education programme in Congo though designing such programmes is not part of my focus in this research. The education system of the country also needs to include such important elements as ability to understand African tradition and values and Western values that have become of our being and living in order to be able to select and integrate them, and develop them into something better for the needed transformation of the country (Kä Mäna 2005:216-217).

4.5 Economic life

Economic aspects such as natural resources, economic activities, life standard, and people's livelihood have been examined at this stage. This study has been carried out according to the following three main historical periods of socio-political influence: pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods. All the sections of the chapter help to appreciate the nature and level of the impact exercised on the life of the Congolese at a given moment, the consequences of this impact in order to envisage appropriate proposals in the subsequent chapters.

4.5.1 Pre-colonial economy

Economically, people generally practised hunting, fishing, and agriculture for survival purposes. The products of these activities were also used to build personal or family economy because communal mode of production also commonly used in area as it was in South Africa where a family could exploit a land or exercise an activity for a common economic production as discussed by Mosala (1990:69-70). Mineral extraction and processing were practised in some parts of the land. Swapping of valuables or bartering economic system was used in business as there was no official monetary system. In other Congolese communities copper bracelets, metal pieces or shells were also used as money for exchange. Speaking of the peoples of the Great Lakes, Renton, Seddon & Zeilig report that these peoples represented an enormous variety of historical traditions in ancient Africa. They included hunters and gathers, fishermen and settled farmers, potters and ironworkers, merchants and traders. The evidence of their settlement includes Stone Age sites on Lake Kivu, as well as ceramic Urewu ware, from around 700 BCE. Deposits of charcoal have been found from smelting furnaces, dating back to around 200 BCE. They were rearing cattle, trapping animals, collecting medicines, producing lumber and finding fibre for clothing from forests. By around 700 BCE, copper was traded between Katanga region and the northern lakes. The main commerce was in ivory and hide. The Kongo Kingdom with its king Nzinga Nkuwu, who led 2-3 million people already traded

shells, sea-salt, fish, pottery wicker, raffia, copper and lead by 1482 (Renton, Seddon & Zeilig 2007:7-9, 12).

The Portuguese admiral, Diego Gão, is reported penetrating the Kingdom of Kongo up to the trading posts where he could find gold and ivory and opening thus commercial and cultural relations between Europe and the Congo in the 15th century. This clearly suggests that Africans, specifically, Congolese already traded in gold, ivory and many other African products with the outside world, including the most shameful lucrative *slave dealings*. By 1500 to 1650, the kingdom of Kongo was at the highest of its renown. Diplomatic relations were established with Portugal, the Holy See, Brazil, and the Netherlands. With the development of Portugal's American territories and the demand for slaves, King Alfonso, desiring European goods for national programmes, offered them slaves (McDonald et al 1971:32). Then, slave trade became a principal activity of European adventurers between the fifteenth and twentieth centuries, which adversely led to a massive population loss to the Congo area. This trade was often successful at a cost of raids or wars that ravaged the countryside and laid waste large territories of the land. This situation has had very serious political and economic consequences later on (:33). Though slave trade enriched some African individuals that did this unfortunate business with foreigner slave-traders, Rodney (1982:98-100) counts it as one of the most de-developing factors for the continent because of the discouragement, instability and depopulation incurred.

Despite ubuntu spirit and African hospitality, betrayal or selling out of African brothers and sisters seems to have dated as back as these remote centuries. Slave exploitation and trade were part of the ordinary living of many African leaders of the day. Turner (2007:31-32) considers it a betrayal that continues to wreak havoc among both educated and uneducated Africans to-date at varying levels as it will be seen later on. The late Mobutu of Congo, then Zaire and Mugabe current president of Zimbabwe, who seem to never care for their own starving-to-death fellow citizens, are part of such an indifferent and wicked leadership of Africa.

4.5.2 Colonial economy

Since the time of Congo Free State the country was fully exploited economically and its people abused extensively through slave trade and hard labour for almost no gain to the benefit of foreigners. Aspects of Congo Free State and Belgian Congo examined below provide further details on the situation of exploitation that the people of the land underwent.

It has been reported abundantly that in the pursuit of profit, Leopold devised a restrictive system of landownership under which Europeans in the Congo had to register their landholdings, leaving all unowned lands and their products the property of the Congo Free State. The Congolese were barred from collecting rubber and ivory except for sale to the state. Moreover, the well-being of the indigenous population was subordinate to the pursuit of profits. By suppressing commercial activity, the Free State destroyed old trading centres and market networks and fragmented traditional socio-political institutions at the clan and village levels. Congolese were taken en masse from native villages and forced to work hard under the supervision of the headmen for increased profit for the state. Those who failed to meet the assigned production were killed and their hands had to be chopped off (Leslie 1993:9).

The country had to be profitable to the motherland. Therefore, large financial and commercial companies were firmly entrenched in the local economy, developing the mineral and agricultural sectors with the blessing of the state. The state provided cheap labour to support these activities through direct coercion, through labour recruitment of all adult males, forcing them to seek wage employment (Leslie 1993:9-14). All these colonial behaviours and actions destroyed local entrepreneurship and discouraged personal initiative spirit, which still characterises much of Congolese community life at various levels to date. Dispossession of the respected and respectable heads of families and/or communities, arresting them, beating them and humiliating them in public, not only led them to lose their human rights and dignity, but also their sense of authority and general leadership that many Congolese, in particular, and Africans, in general, are allegedly said to lack today. This situation has also seriously contributed to inferiority complex that many of our people continue to suffer from to date.

Mosala (1990:85) rightly explains that normally the advent of the capitalist mode of production is preceded by a historically and logically prior phase of primitive accumulation that is the historical process in which the original producers and owners of the means of production are dispossessed and transformed into the possessors of marketable labour power. This is exactly what happened to the Congolese people of this era; they found themselves part of a cheap, highly-exploited labour for capitalist European agricultural, mining, rubber and textile growing industries. As most African countries under capitalist control, the Congo could not develop a local economic leadership and local bourgeoisie for a possible economic development (Mbeki 2009:11, 155).

4.5.3 Post-colonial economic life

The Democratic Republic Congo possesses vast reserves of gold, copper, diamonds and uranium, as well as oil, cadmium, cobalt, manganese, silver, radium, bauxite, iron ore, coal, hydropower potential, tin and zinc. Cocoa, coffee, cotton, tea, quinine, root crops, corn, wood products, fruits, palm oil, rubber and timber are all exported from the country today. Under any consideration, its people should be rich. Yet, these resources have been stolen for years. Western intervention started with the exploitation of the country by the Belgian king Leopold in 1870's (Renton, Seddon & Zeilig 2007:1). Reporting on the gradual degradation of economic situation of Congo after independence, especially, during Mobutu's regime, Turner (2007:35) indicates that from 1968 to around 1974, economic conditions were good, thanks to the restoration of order and the high price of copper on international markets. Starting from 1974, began a series of disasters such as: Zairianisation of the economy, confiscating all businesses belonging to foreigners and giving them to his friends and relatives, which damaged the system of distribution of consumer goods; and many such other unprofitable projects that caused massive drain of the national capital; too much money was spent on projects, which could not benefit local economy.

When Joseph Désiré Kabila took power, inheriting an economy in a disastrous shape after years of corruption and mismanagement under Mobutu, production and living

standards were far lower than at independence. Half of all transactions, services and merchandise were in the informal sector. Though people had some hope, then started familiar patterns of unaccountability, corruption and patronage, to deny them any possible economic future (:38). Because of this kleptocratic leadership the situation of economic degradation continues to date. Then, commenting on the present economic and political situation of Congo, Turner observes that after the virtual destruction of the mining sector under Mobutu, Congo is being reintegrated into the world economy. However, international companies and local elites are pocketing revenues from minerals instead of sharing it with local communities or spending it to reduce poverty (Turner 2007:46). Being highly kleptocratic and corrupt, Congolese elites are used to sacrifice common national benefits for their own selfish gains. Sometimes, billions of US dollars of tax money change hands through corruption just for the benefit of few.

Renton, Seddon & Zeilig link the continual economic and political failures of the Congo to a hostile international coalition that works for the evil of the country. Going back to the 1960's, they explain that in an era of decolonisation, the discussion about how Congo could build up a strong, democratic society, governing in the interests of its own people was brought to an end when Patrice Lumumba was murdered on the orders of America and Belgium, with the connivance of the United Nations. Lumumba was the figure, who best expressed the demand for radical rule. The West assisted General Mobutu to power as the strong man who would protect American interests in Congo and across central Africa. With the backing of America, Belgium, France and other Western countries, Mobutu destroyed the economy using the mining companies and the central bank as his personal wealth. Not just in the Democratic Republic of Congo but globally, the demands of the West have become more urgent. Imposing the types of social activities to finance and limiting amounts of money to borrow, Structural Adjustment Programme has diminished the central authority and incapacitated the leaders to meet the needs of their own population. During the recent wars, international business has sustained the war and other governments involved in the conflict. The collapse of DR Congo is a result of the combined effects of economic crisis, neoliberal programmes of structural adjustment, and the consequent loss of the state power (Renton, Seddon & Zeilig 2007:4, 5, 204). The comment of these scholars is very informative. It is

suggestive of what people who wish to develop a good leadership for the socio-political transformation of DR Congo, in particular, and that of any other African country, in general, can do to be effectively successful. They have to avoid the miscalculation of, for instance, working only from within the Congo or the continent, without planning for a serious work against outside destructive forces. In the case of the church, for example, apart from an inside work for the development of the transformed Christians within churches and the African community at large, a global coalition must be built to combat international evil forces.

With such a considerable economic potential the country needs caring and responsible leaders who have a global understanding of the economic value of these natural resources, the way the resources can be exploited and converted into usable products that can be distributed profitably according to real national strategic needs. A transformational leadership be able to consider investment opportunities so as to develop a strong local bourgeoisie for further economic development is therefore needed (Mbeki 2009:155). So doing would equally create an exceptionally constructive behaviour, which is contrary to one of the most scandalous and anti-developmental behaviours of African elites that consists in massive exportation of the essential capitals out of their countries and continent (:146).

4.6 Religious life

In traditional Africa as well as in African villages less influenced by foreign cultures religion pervades every social structure and activity of the society (Mugambi & Kirima 1979:127). Religion is also considered as a special educational element that instructs people about the proper socio-political behaviours required by their communities (Kä Mäna 2005:211). However, though Congo counts a huge array of religions, including traditional religions, Islam, Christianity with its various denominations and organisations, I will limit the analysis to Christianity, especially, Catholic and Protestant missions because of their consistent educational activity throughout the history of the country. Though traditional religions exist in the history of DR Congo, there are no clear records

of them being structurally well organised with a leadership or having a special socio-political influence in the country.

4.6.1 Pre-colonial period

Christianity was introduced first in the country through the Kingdom of Kongo to join African religions since the 15th century. There were then cases of Kongolese Christians; one of them being that of King Alfonso, who reigned from 1506 to 1641 was said to be a devout Christian (McDonald 1971:32). This was basically the work of the Catholic mission that accompanied the Portuguese explorer, Diego Cão to the mouth of the Congo River in 1484. Beside the case of this Congolese king who is said to have become a devout Christian, there had been cases of resistance such that of Kimpa Vita also called by the Portuguese Dona Beatrice, who ended up being burnt as explained earlier (Hastings 2008:116). After a period of decline, the late nineteenth century saw a resurgence of missionary activity when Protestants in the United States and Britain began to make incursions into the Congo, especially, during the colonial period.

4.6.2 Colonial period

Under colonial rule Christianity had been stressed as one of the main civilising tools used to influence colonies (Rodney 1982:229). Yet, traditional religions were generally forced to go underground because they were considered devilish and superstitious. Even Christian influential leaders ended up in big trouble. Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita, a Congolese Catholic woman is of such cases. This woman, after a severe sickness, claimed having been died and resurrected as Saint Anthony whose spirit possessed her. As she preached for the restoration of the Kongolese monarchy, which had suffered from three decades of civil war, petitioning the recognition of black saints and claiming that Jesus Christ was Kongolese, was brought to trial by the Catholic hierarchy and burned at the stake in 1706 (Middleton & Miller 2008:116). Simon Kimbangu, a Congolese Christian, who started having a huge and influential following ensuing his evangelism work and above all his miraculous signs had serious trouble with colonial authorities

because of Catholic wrong reports. He consequently spent the rest of his life in prison where he died (Chome 1959:15-16; Manicom 1979:15).

In January 1878 the Baptist Missionary Society landed at Banana and soon established a mission at San Salvador (Angola) (Leslie1993:73). Stonelake (1937:33) reports that 1878 was also the year during which Livingstone Inland Mission entered the land before transferring the work to the American Baptist Mission in 1884. Then, between 1889 and 1897 several new missions such as the Christian Alliance later called the Christian and Missionary Alliance, the American Presbyterian Mission, the United Christian Mission, and the Westcott Mission entered the field. As explained in 2.4, the leadership of the Protestant missionaries of the time was a servant one in the sense that it aimed at meeting the primary needs of the Congolese while the Catholic missionaries' was more transactional in terms of their relationship with King Leopold.

By the end of the century, as the Protestant missions protested against atrocities committed in Congo, King Leopold denied them land concessions and raised their taxes while Catholic activities were encouraged and by 1906 the king started subsidising their schools and providing subsistence for Catholic missionaries (Leslie 1993:73). After annexation of Congo to Belgium, the close relationship between the Catholic missions and the state continued and the Catholic missions were strong defenders of the colonisation of the Congo to the point of becoming an integral part of the system. The theology of these Catholics in the then Congo identifies itself well as one of the versions of the political theologies that (Assmann 1976:29) disqualifies because of their justification and defence of the status quo in contexts of injustice. Leslie (1993:73) indicates further that though many Congolese have been baptised as Christians, they continue to resort to their traditional religions and witchcraft. The reason for such a spiritual condition can be difficult to explain away. However, it can be alleged that the focus of the activity of these church workers and theological methods used to make of these Africans disciples of Christ might be a problem. There have been abundant reports according to which the state, commercial and financial companies, and the church formed a colonial triumvirate or trinity in Congo as well as in other parts of the continent for the exploitation of the indigenes (Turner 2007:34; Leslie 1993:18). In such teams, diversion is possible and poor spiritual results require no effort, especially, when much

attention is devoted to activities contrary to God's spiritual and socio-political mission in favour of his people. Spiritual and socio-political transformation is part of the mission God has commissioned his people, as viewed in the making of all nations disciples of Christ and being salt of the earth and light of the world (Matthew 5:13-16; 28:19-20). Exploiting the weak and supporting the wicked and their evil powers is counterproductive and God strongly disapproves it (Leviticus 19:33-34; Isaiah 1:17).

The extent of the Christian religious activity in the Congo was so varied that it included education, medical care, social works, agricultural training and religious instruction. As most educational activity has been in the hands of the religious organisations, most Congolese also consider the church to be playing this role all through as it has been doing since the period of the Congo Free State (Leslie 1993:73). This is also why I consider that the church has to bear enormous responsibility for the present and future socio-political transformation of the Congolese, in particular, and that of the African community in general. However, it seems that in their educational activities and religious instruction, there was none that could effectively prepare the Congolese to Christian political or socio-political and religious responsibility. Adversely, Etambala (2004:382) and Leslie (1993:73) describe a constant situation of open warring between the Catholic and Protestant missions in Congo all through the colonial period. Emphasising the utmost influence of the Catholic mission both on the government and concessionary companies, (Stonelake 1937:134-135) indicates that the principle of religious liberty was often infringed in the Belgian Congo up to 1930's. With the advent of Kimbanguism in 1921, Catholic authorities staged an open war against both the Protestants and Kimbangists (Etambala 2004:365). Catholics enjoying advantageous relationships with colonial authorities could often accuse Protestant authorities for one or another reason. Catholic Church leaders would often speak against the Protestants and vice versa. Such warring between denominations or religions is no different from what sometimes happens between African ethnic groups in this continent. So, the warring between Christian groups and the complicity of Christians with the exploiting powers set a bad precedence, and could not allow them to really develop effective leaders for the Congo.

Much has been said about the trend in colonial Africa known as the Independent Church movement. It was a trend in which thousands of African Christians participated by breaking away from European churches (especially Protestant churches), and setting up their own places of worship under Christian African leadership. The motives were varied. Some independent churches were highly nationalistic, like that established by John Chilembwe, who led an armed nationalist uprising in Nyasaland (Malawi) in 1917. Others developed as a response of those Africans aspiring to be priests or pastors to the discrimination practiced against them by white missionaries. One constant factor was the disgust with the way that Europeans forced Africans to identify themselves as Europeans (Rodney 1982:254). To this group belong Kimbanguism, which was organised by Simon Kimbangu's sons later on, and many other charismatic churches. Many of the leaders of these churches being academically and materially, morally and spiritually ill-prepared to function efficiently and efficaciously were generally unable to develop leaders for effective socio-political transformation.

4.6.3 Post-colonial period

After conducting a survey on religions in Congo by the 1960's, McDonald (1971:195) reports that the religious affiliation in 1969 can be summarised as follows: more than 6, 5 million, or about 40 percent of the population were Roman Catholics; about 2 million were Protestants; an estimate 1, 5 million were members of Congolese independent churches, including the Kimbanguist Church; about 160,000 were Muslims; and the remaining 6 million continued to practise some form of traditional religion.

From the 1980's the Christian population has increased considerably. Encarta 2007 puts its figures above 75%. Presenting their study on *Religions and Beliefs* in the 2009 DR Congo, Wikipedia, the Free Encyclopaedia posit that the Roman Catholics represent 50% of the Congolese population; Protestants 20%; indigenous Christians, mainly made up of Kimbanguists 13.5%; other Christian denominations 1%; Muslims 1.5%; and indigenous traditional religions 11.5%. These 2009 figures show that Christianity in DR Congo occupies roughly 85% of the population of the country. Unfortunately, as it will be seen later when speaking of their lack of positive socio-

political influence, though they can be found in all spheres of influence in the nation, their public influence is very insignificant (Muluma 2002:229). This situation of Christians living in a land without being the light of their world and salt of the earth (Kalemba 2011:12) is so worrying that church leaders, missiologists, church workers in various capacities, and all Christians need to do something about it to reach the necessary transformation.

4.6.4 Church of Christ in Congo (CCC): readiness of its leadership for the challenge

The Church of Christ in Congo is the national organisation of all the Protestant churches in DR Congo and is composed of sixty-two churches called communities (Mutombo-Mukendi 2011:273). When Protestant missionaries from the West came to plant churches in the Congo region, the Belgian colonial government which was basically Catholic gave them hard time to work. So, they had to struggle from the beginning with the Belgian government. As a result, the Protestant churches created The Council of Churches of Congo to work together and face the challenge more aggressively. Ten years after independence, i.e., in 1970, those churches belonging to the Council amalgamated within one structure. The structure encompassed thus different communities, for example, the Baptists, the Presbyterians, the Pentecostals, the Salvation Army, the Methodists, the Assemblies of God, the Lutherans, the Anglicans, the Mennonites, and the Evangelicals. These denominations have then been called communities in the Congo; they have therefore formed a sort of one church for such purposes as synod deliberations and evangelical developments. This unity gives strength to the Church vis-à-vis the government and other organisations and adverse circumstances. They work hand in hand in the field of evangelism, health, community development, and in educational institutions like schools and universities. This church organisation is a force and a visible testimony of unity at work (Tshilenga 2005:164-165). A special case of education is their theological training that is offered through common institutions such as Université Protestante au Congo, Université Chrétienne de Kinshasa and Université Libre des Pays des Grands Lacs.

4.6.4.1 Activism of the Church of Christ in Congo

Reporting on the political commitment of the Congolese Christians from colonial era to 2004, Makombo (2004:392-406) demonstrates that Congolese Christians and their Church have always been involved in the political life of their nation through various actions: fighting for free education in 1954, producing literature for national freedom and/reconciliation all through, taking part in freedom marches on 16 February 1992, denouncing or standing against evil, praying and fasting for national good continuously. The baffling thing is the manifest contradiction between such sociopolitical involvement of the church and the effective socio-political transformation on the ground. First of all, there has never been a noticeable transformation. Secondly, without refuting this socio-political Christian commitment in the Congo, Ekakhoi (2009:271) specifies which of the church groupings were the main activists saying:

As stated earlier, the Church in the DRC has been divided ever since. While the Catholic Church held a strong position against Mobutu's regime, the Protestant Church took a different stance ... The Protestant church (sic) remained supportive of the regime, despite its nature, until Mobutu's announcement of the process of popular consultation had led to a multiparty dispensation and the "democratization" of the country.

In the Congo the Catholic Church is not part of the CCC; however, its leadership has played a significant role in combating dictatorship. Ekakhoi highlights Cardinal Joseph Malula's name as the key figure from 1970's up to his death in 1989 saying:

The first tension between Mobutu and the Catholic Church became evident when Mobutu founded the MPR. Two years later, the Conference of Catholic Bishops noted that the regime was developing dictatorial tendencies. This led to Cardinal Joseph Malula, then the head of the Catholic Church in Zaire, publicly expressing fear about the regime's intentions during a mass celebrating the tenth anniversary of independence...

Cardinal Malula protested against this decision and instructed his bishops to ignore it. In retaliation, the regime seized the Cardinal's residence in Kinshasa and converted it into the JMPR (the youth branch of Mobutu's party) headquarters, stripped him of his national honours and forced him into exile in the Vatican (Ekakhoi 2009:268-269).

Despite this Ekakhoi's appraisal of the Catholics, analysing harmful roles played by certain Catholic Church leaders such as Monsigneur Laurent Mosengwo Pasinya during the Sovereign National Conference in 1991-1993 and Abbe Malu-Malu during the national election in Congo in 2005-2006, Mutombo-Mukendi (2011:24) considers that even the Catholic Church lacks a consistent effective leadership for the socio-political transformation of the country. Ultimately, it seems that the real handicap for the involvement of CCC for really transformative socio-political actions is its leadership as detailed in the subsection below.

4.6.4.2 CCC leadership and political leadership development

The poor leadership of CCC appears to be the main cause of the lack of really transformative actions in the country. Not being transformational, this leadership has produced ineffective Christians that have rendered the poorest socio-political service to the community for more than four decades. Muluma (2002:231-234) shows that though more than 90% of the leaders of the main political, economic and social institutions of the country were identified as Christian of some sort, the socio-political life of the Congo has been worsening for the last sixty years; corruption, poor service delivery and kleptocracy have been on a perpetual increase. Mutombo-Mukendi (2005:119-122) observes that church leaders in Congo are so corrupt that they cannot even have a positive impact on their political leaders or cause effective transformation in the country. He specifically points to the case of church leaders who were involved in the conference that was organised in DRC in 1992 to decide on its better future, i.e., the National Sovereign Conference. He mentions many other church leaders who have been playing roles in the public life of the country, but who were unfortunately corrupted to shirk their responsibility. Tshilenga (2005:165-166, 195-196) points out three specific collective sins of the church, more specially, of many of the church leaders that need to be combated: corruption, tribalism and compromise with dictators. It is also important to indicate that the phenomenon of poor church leadership as aforementioned is not unique to the Congo and not even specific to Africa. Reporting Dr Mombo's speech at the CMS Scholarship Alumni in Uganda, Katorobo (2006) states that the African church is

experiencing a leadership crisis which needs to be taken seriously and resolved. Speaking of the poor church leadership in America, Barna (1997:29) indicates: “The Church in America is in a crisis time. ... Leaders are the missing link to the health of the Church”. Maxwell (2007: v, vii) takes it to statistics, specifying that only 5% of the American church leadership qualified as transformational.

Despite this bleak situation of the church leadership, the African church remains a better hope for socio-political transformation; Katorobo (2006) observes that it is the most sustainable social institution. She then suggests that the crisis should be resolved through the contextual training of the potential leaders in which the main social issues can be seriously integrated and studied, the ownership of training programmes and their supervision by the church leaders can be seriously considered (http://weharchive.cms-uk.org/news/2006/solving_crisis). After taking a close look at the leadership training programmes in the Congo, Downey (1989:22) observes: “It is true that the trend towards professionalism and institutionalism in leadership training has made that training more susceptible to ‘education for education’s sake’ rather than ‘education for living’.” Explaining later why the graduates of such education system are poor leaders, he indicates that the training is too western and too academic observing: “... they are sent away to training institutions where emphasis is on academic achievements rather than on developing functional skills necessary to be a church leader. The learning atmosphere tends to be artificial, divorced from the real world” (:117). Suspecting a lack of spiritual or religious conversion as cause of church leadership’s sinning and misbehaviours, Tshilenga (2005:195-196) proposes that the training institutions help prospective church leaders to convert religiously. Mombo (2009:66-67) also considers training institutions as both part of the problem and that of the solution; so she suggests that they emphasise the development of leadership rather than management, character ethic rather than personality ethic. Banza (2003:54-58) suggests that the problem of conversion be dealt with in a comprehensive way from the local church through a four-dimensional evangelism or discipleship where religious, intellectual, moral and political conversion can also be covered. It can also be suggested after Wagner (1997:284-294) that such poor leadership may have been caused by the lack of enough leadership’s personal prayer and church people’s intercession for their church leadership; so there need to be more

prevailing prayers both on the part of the church leaders and of their members. To the above-mentioned suggestions, it can also be deplored that CCC leadership discourse, development and activities seem to revolve around titles such as pastors, bishops and the like instead of effective programmes for the development of church ministries as indicated in Ephesians 4:11-13. The development of these ministries and the effective collaboration of these ministries can contribute a lot to the perfecting of the Christians and the development of effective leadership (Prince 2001:7).

The quick resolution of the church leadership crisis is essential not only for the better future of the church, but also for that of the African people. Unfortunately, as concerns the training institutions the calls for reformation have been made ever since without palpable change; Downey called in 1989, Tshilenga in 2005, Katoroko in 2006 and Mombo in 2009. The role the Korean church played in Korea for their socio-political transformation can be inspirational to the African church to bring about the needed socio-political transformation. The Korean church strategically planned and effectively worked for transformation in the community, praying prevailingly and acting decisively to see an effective transformation both inside and outside its borders (Cox 1995:234, 236,239-240). With effective church leadership the same can also happen in DR Congo and beyond as it happened in South Africa thanks to people like Bishop Desmond Tutu and many others (Borer 1998:1-2; Mutombo-Mukendi 2011:103-110).

4.7 Political leadership

Some aspects of the African traditional leadership development and application, as well as those of the colonial and post-colonial times have been examined to appreciate what has affected today's leadership and how it has been so affected, to be able to find ways of improving on it.

4.7.1 Pre-colonial political leadership

People of this land already used a variety of political leadership systems as mentioned earlier. They had monarchies such as empires and kingdoms as well as chieftaincies of more or less authoritarian character (McDonald et al 1971:31). However, speaking of the

administration of Kongo Kingdom and comparing it with that of Portugal, Cornevin (1963:33) observes that it was not very different from that of Portugal of 15 or 16th century. Though the power of the king of Kongo was an absolute one, it had a number of restrictions. The king was chosen through elections as well as his governors and advisers. The same council of elders that had the power to elect the king into kingship had also the power to remove him from kingship or to suspend him. Prospective kings were generally prepared to this responsibility in the natural context of family and community living; sometimes, the grooming was done through special ceremonies and programmes as already indicated in 4.4. Gordon (2002:9) observes: "Such a process included acquisition of wisdom and knowledge through training, participation in the appropriate rites of passage, and elevation to positions of influence by virtue of age grade and activity in various community groups". Rodney (1982:131) reports on how exceptionally impressed were the European travellers who visited the Zulu-Land of Chaka's time. They were particularly struck by political organisation, cleanness and social order, and military discipline. Underlining the role the army, in particular, he says:

The Zulu army was more than a fighting force. It was an educational institution for the young, and an instrument for building loyalties that cut across clans and could be considered as national promotion that came through merit, and not through clan or regional origin. The enforced use of the Zulu branch of the family of Ngoni languages also worked in the direction of national consciousness. Over an area of twelve thousand square miles, citizens came to call themselves Ama-Zulu, and to relegate their clan names to second place. Over a much larger area still, Zulu influence was profoundly felt. Policies such as curbing the excesses of witchcraft diviners (izanus) and the fact that Zululand became free of internal struggles led to an influx of population from outside its boundaries (:131).

He later insists that the Europeans were impressed by the cleanness (as when they visited Benin in the fifteenth century) and they were equally struck by the social order, absence of theft, sense of security (just as were the Arabs who traveled in the Western Sudan during its period of imperial greatness). In actual fact, both the cleanness and the security of life and property were part of Zulu life from long before, and under Chaka what was impressive was the scale on which these things extended, owing to the protective umbrella of the state (:131).

The context of the development and application of this leadership was completely different from what we observe nowadays. Today's leadership develops in a broad multicultural context with value systems and requirements different from those of the traditional community while traditional leadership generally developed in the limited context of ethnic groups where foreign cultural influence was totally or quasi absent and where traditional social values were the absolute requirements. It was then difficult for a disqualified person to cheat into leadership position as well as for an uncaring and selfish individual to stay on in power.

4.7.2 Colonial political leadership

With the advent of foreign powers the whole structure of leadership underwent progressive changes to the extent that at a given stage local authorities completely lost power to European masters. Along these lines, Gordon (2002:8-9) has this to say:

Thus, colonialism undermined, replaced, and transformed the historical leadership of Africa that was there in a variety of ways in terms of the level of authority and the relationship between the leaders and those who were led. Colonialism created a new avenue for leadership within the context of the colonial state. Those who were associated with the colonials found themselves elevated to positions of power within the colonial state structure.

Africans were nominated as leaders by their European masters for the exclusive interests of the colonisers. Among the most needed qualifications were submission to the masters and academic education; love for and kind service to one's people, loyalty to local people, especially, in violation of the principles of the maximum interests of the colonisers were counted among the deadliest sins. These African were taught and expected to use slandering, violence and various wicked actions against their fellow Africans for personal benefits or for the benefits of the colonisers; injustice was a commonplace practice (Gordon 2002:3, 11-13). Civil wars and many other ethnocentrism behaviours experienced later on were prepared and developed during this time through techniques of divide-and-rule. Rodney (1982:228) rightfully reports: "Indeed, the colonial powers sometimes saw the value of stimulating the internal tribal jealousies so as

to keep the colonized from dealing with their principal contradictions with the European overlords- i.e., the classic technique of divide and rule.” Commenting further on the of colonialism that has had lingering bad consequences in the continent, Commenting on the misdeeds of colonial masters, Gordon alleges that to ensure its control over the extraction of resources, the colonial state established an authoritarian bureaucracy that was enforced by its colonial army and police. Working closely with the chiefs, the court messengers, the tax collectors, and the colonial courts, these agencies oppressed the African masses. Incidents of rape, extortions, murder, and other forms of abuse perpetrated by them were commonplace during the colonial period. The army’s and police’s brutal activities on behalf of the colonial state contributed not only to the way they came to perceive themselves in both post-colonial Africa and in contemporary periods. The colonial state embarked on the strategy of *divide and rule* rather than unification as a means of ensuring its political hegemony. Colonialism led to the underdevelopment of Africa. The agents of colonialism who carried out their tasks effectively were rewarded. For example, the chiefs who collaborated with the controlling powers received the advantages of wealth, political power, and privileges. They generally had the first opportunity to educate their children thereby ensuring the perpetuation of their dynasties. In essence, the colonial experience endured by Africa was one of an extremely violent, undemocratic state; a parasitic and repressive military structure; inefficient and corrupt bureaucracy; spatial distortion and disarticulation; politicisation of social and cultural differences; and a general legacy of lack of consultation and insensitivity; political arrogance; disrespect for cultural or traditional institution; suppression of initiative and the imposition of a foreign world view, taste and value (Gordon 2002:12-13).

The development of the dynamic of power and leadership was such different at this stage that at the official independence of the country in June 1960, the attitudes and behaviours of the Congolese elite were such significantly influenced into fighting for selfish interests and betrayal of fellow country people. Ubuntu values of cooperation, hospitality, respect for human dignity and common social good were of no consideration for the vying politicians.

4.7.3 Post-colonial political leadership

The history the Congolese political leadership features such important names as Joseph Kasa Vubu the first President of the country, Patrice E. Lumumba first Prime Minister of the country, Joseph Mobutu the first Congolese Chief of Staff and second President of the country, and some others. The only leader I have chosen to discuss further later, at this level, is Joseph Mobutu also called later Mobutu Sese Seko of Congo. This is especially Mobutu of the 1980's, who represents the unique character of the post-colonial political leadership because of the lingering social, political, economic and ethical impact his rule has left on the Congolese people.

On 17 February 1960, a conference was convened by the coloniser Belgium; it then led to a 16-point programme on the independence of Congo providing for the election of a bicameral Parliament and the formation of a centralised Congo government before June 30. The programme was then submitted to King Baudouin the next day and approved by the full conference on 19 February. Then, the country's first Congolese government came into existence on 24 June, 1960 with the confirmation of Patrice Lumumba as premier and the election of Joseph Kasa-Vubu as president.

Just after independence, political tensions started to mount between President Joseph Kasa-Vubu and Premier Patrice Lumumba, which led to abuse of power and illegal dismissal of one by another (Joseph Kas Vubu declared Patrice Lumumba dismissed and Patrice Lumumba declared Joseph Kasa Vubu dismissed) as soon as 5-6 September 1960. This situation prepared the field for Colonel Joseph Mobutu to oust Lumumba government by 27 September, 1960. The country was then governed by a College of Commissioners to serve as the provisional government (Epstein 1965:37, 47). This situation of authoritarian bureaucracy and abuse of the rule of law was carefully prepared during colonial time and bequeathed then to the African elite.

Mobutu is reputed as a dictatorial leader of the Congo. Clark (2002:81-98) portrays Mobutu as an authoritarian ruler, who always insisted on having elections however fraudulent they might be. Being oppressive Mobutu often sought the cover of the proper law authorities. As concerns his education, Mobutu managed to complete his primary school and went to a missionary school which he did not finish being expelled

reportedly for theft in 1949. He then went to a military training in 1950; he thus got a diploma as an accountant secretary in 1952. After receiving some rudimentary journalistic training in the army, Mobutu was sent to Belgium in 1958-59 where he took short courses on writing at the Office of Information and Public Relations for Belgium's colonies; as he was in Brussels during the famous Roundtable Conference of January-February 1960 at which the Belgians abruptly agreed to grant the Congolese independence in six month time, Mobutu attended the conference.

As the Prime Minister Lumumba dismissed Belgian officers from the National Congolese Army; then Mobutu became a colonel and chief of staff, second ranking after General Victor Lundula. Always in 1960 as conflicts arose between the pro-Western President Kasa Vubu and the radical Prime Minister Lumumba, Mobutu sided with Kasa Vubu while dismissing either of them. Reportedly Mobutu was bribed by CIA operatives in Congo (Clark 2002:98).

Mobutu imposed a single party regime in 1967 with his MPR movement; it was then the beginning of his cult of personality he tried to foster. Reportedly Mobutu enjoyed some legitimate popularity and success as a leader and state-builder from 1967 to 1973. During this period the country enjoyed relative prosperity and recovery from the civil war of 1960; people were such exhausted by the war that they were happy with return of order even if it meant repression. The same period the country made some development gains with high copper prices and started rebuilding its infrastructure. But from the second half of 1970's throughout 1980's the state was in steady decline and corruption was rife. Beginning in 1973, the state started taking over foreign economic interests under a programme called Zairianisation. Foreign assets were then seized and turned over to Mobutu's supporters for political loyalty. During these years political irresponsibility among Mobutu's cronies, kleptocracy, corruption and economic disorder were so high and commonplace that most people started accepting them as lifestyle; this situation has been lingering years after Mobutu and his regime were gone. The poverty, corruption and kleptocracy of Mobutu's time have continued during the regimes of the two Kabila's, who came after him and worsened (Ekakhoi 2009:258). Since 1990, the country was on the path of transition; the journalists of the Congo could write and

express their opinions freely. By the end of 1990 a legislation legalising political parties was passed.

Much of what has been described in the lines above was day-to-day activities and behaviours during Mobutu regime and they appear to be still proceeding in a similar fashion in Kabila regime today. Partly, it is because of the bad colonial legacy Congolese received from the former masters, but also because of the context in which the dynamic of power and leadership practice happens (Leslie 1993:21); the context of a nation with more than 400 ethnic groups (Mutombo-Mukendi 2005:192), speaking different languages and having varying cultural values to a point; the context where people influenced by foreign education and by ethnic or regional interests are at the same time pulled about by interests of Neo-colonialism and other foreign powers, interests that are, somewhat, compulsory.

African leaders who fought for the freedom of their people in the 1950's to 1989, did so in the difficult situation of the Cold War and neo-colonialism. Very few of them could not deeply understand what the transformation of their country required of them to be really prepared for it; and if a careful attention is paid to the way the politicians of the 1960's strengthened ethnic loyalties and regionalism during their political campaigns, especially in Congo, transformation was not the concern of many (Leslie 1993:21). Many of the political leaders of this period did not have either the intellectual training or the political and moral education needed to be able to face responsibly the challenge of leading their newly-independent countries towards effective transformation. It is true as mentioned earlier that some of these political leaders proved to have high ethical standing to be able to shun corruption and tribalism, because of their fear of God, as the case of Kasa Vubu the first president of Congo or Ileo his cabinet minister (Makombo 2004:399). The Christian education they received as Catholic believers seems to prove an exceptionally good sign of hope that people can still acquire good socio-political values if a constructive work is done to change them for the better.

Joseph Mobutu Sese Seko and his contemporaries were some of the victims of poor colonial education, neo-colonialism, Cold War and new liberal capitalism. But politicians of the later period such as the Kabila's: Desiré Kabila and his son Joseph Kabila, and other politicians around them have made no difference either. As for (Turner

2007: 35-38; Renton, Seddon & Zeilig 2007:4, 5, 204) these politicians have been more interested in exploiting their people, serving themselves and their friends than anything else. According to the same sources, the Congolese elite, with the help of their foreign friends and multinational companies, have been exploiting the natural resources of the country and using the proceeds mostly for personal benefits. Social and economic conditions of the common Congolese are today so deplorable that Turner (2007:38) declares them worse than when the country first had its political independence. At this level, I can conclude that Katongole (2011:15) is correct in observing that the Congo still operates by the same law of plunder and greed. The actors seem to have changed or even increased in number, but the script after which they operate remains unchanged. The same undemocratic leadership of kleptocracy and oppression which exploited the Congolese people under King Leopold's Congo Free State and the Belgian Congo continues to operate under the Mobutu's regime and the Kabila's. The leadership continuously uses the same colonial script that endorses the oppression, exploitation and impoverishment of the African masses by the elite.

4.8 Types of African Churches found in DR Congo, their limitations

As already mentioned earlier, the global church and its various organisations constitute an essential institution among others that can contribute to the development of a sustainable transformational leadership for the continent, in general, and the Congo in particular. Yet, to plan and work successfully with other religious and social institutions the church needs its own prior effective transformation. That is why this section examines the different types of churches that have developed in Africa, and particularly, in DR Congo to see how they can contribute to the development of effective transformational leadership.

Depending on the behaviours and/attitudes of the missionaries who brought and planted a church, their denomination, the specific location where the church was first planted, and how it was taught or disciplined and whether it was/is an independent one or not has a deep influence on its membership and subsequent leadership development. I

would then like to speak of the types of church that have been identified in Africa and of their limitations, spiritual and socio-political values and impact as concerns leadership development.

Speaking of African churches amounts somewhat to dealing with the analysis and description not only of the spiritual aspects of the African church members or goers, but also of the complexity of their anthropological, socio-political, economic and cultural challenges and privileges. So, it can be emphasised that African people and church, especially, sub-Saharan African people have diverse socio-political and Christian landscapes despite their somewhat common political and socio-economic problems. As some of these aspects have a significant impact on African leadership development and behaviours, those specific traits will also be dealt with in the following subsections. Consequently, speaking of the African church according to these various external and internal influences, Bafinamene (2008:66-75) has subdivided and classified African churches as follows: 1) “missionary” church, 2) “ethnic” church; 3) “apolitical” church and 4) “challenged” church. It can be noted that this is not based on denominations to which the churches belong, but rather on the socio-political behaviours and attitudes, or simply on their praxis in society. A political church has also been discussed in this section as a fifth type of African church. The sixth type of African church, socio-political and proactive church, is my proposed church model that has equally been discussed in detail later on in the eighth chapter as the ideal church fit for the development of the needed African leadership.

4.8.1 A “missionary” church

In this subsection a “missionary” church does not mean a church involved in missions; the adjective *missionary* is generally put in inverted commas because of the negative meaning the term has been given. As for C.K. Bafinamene a missionary church is basically a work of Catholics and Protestant Western missionaries who entered the continent since the 15th century through the 19th century with the consequence that thousands or millions of Africans became members of their churches and denominations that started competing and struggling into Christian tribalism. Recognising the lack of effective actions in these

churches, Ositelu (2000:385) calls them “mission churches”. Blaming them for providing a Christianity not contextualised to Africans, Anderson (2000:380) calls such churches “Western-founded churches”. In these churches African Christians have been quarrelling about their different doctrines; sometimes they used to fight for evangelism territories (:66). This situation has led later to cases such that a church leader from a different denomination or even from the same denomination, but originating from a different part of the country could not serve in the church as leader (Tshilenga 2005:165). With such a tribalism or ethnocentrism-minded church leadership it is real difficult to develop a unifying and effectively transformational political leadership. Central to the debate of the “missionary” church have been the problems of the ineffective presentation of the gospel and its transmission by the missionaries and its reception among the Africans Bafinamene 2008:68). Accordingly, commenting on African Independent Churches Rodney (1982:254) observes:

Much has been written about the trend in colonial Africa known as the Independent church movement. It was a trend in which thousands of Africa Christians participated by breaking away from European churches (especially Protestant churches), and setting up their own places of worship under Christian African leadership. The motives were varied. Some Independent churches were highly nationalistic, like that established by John Chilembwe, who led an armed nationalist uprising in Nyasaland (Malawi) in 1917. Others developed as a response of those Africans aspiring to be priests or pastors to the discrimination practiced against them by white missionaries. One constant factor was disgust with the way that Europeans forced Africans to identify as Europeans.

Consequently, the negative assessment of these problems has provoked a chain of reactions on the African side. The quest for an appropriate African theology and re-evaluation of African identity has given way to the African theology from 1950’s. Then, the need for the indigenisation, Africanisation or contextualisation of Christianity, especially in the field of worship, liturgy, theological and social issues led to the development of African Independent Churches (AIC) from the late 19th century to the early 20th century (Turaki 1999:10-18). Being superficial in their evangelism and contextualisation, “missionary” churches can consequently end up developing a

Christianity that cannot serve the kingdom of God either spiritually, or socio-politically. This kind of Christianity Van der Walt (2001:103-104) qualifies it secularist, observing:

Secularism is unfortunately no longer confined to the West. It is also a growing fact amongst sincere African Christians, because in their personal and church life, they think and behave as Christians, but in politics, economics, etcetera, they are lost. They don't even see the relevance of the Gospel for the real and burning issues on our continent. One of the basic reasons is, on one hand, the increasing influence of globalisation which exports secular Western culture as the ideal for life. On the other hand, the lack of an integral, Biblically inspired worldview, anthropology and philosophy of society amongst African Christians themselves strengthens the process.

Having had a poor spiritual, cultural, social and even political preparation many missionary churches have difficulty developing an effective socio-political leadership for the transformation of the community at large.

4.8.2 An ethnic church

Ethnicity and blood-community have a very powerful impact in the African society to the extent that they have been able to influence the life of the church to a degree. Commenting on one of the reasons slave trade was successfully possible and the meaning of communalism in Africa, Rodney (1982:79) observes:

It is often said for the colonial period that vertical political divisions in Africa made conquest easy. This is even truer of the way that Africa succumbed to the slave trade. National unification was a product of mature feudalism and of capitalism. Inside Europe, there were far fewer political divisions than in Africa where communalism meant political fragmentation with the family as the nucleus, and there were only a few states that had real territorial solidity.

Commenting on ethnic church, Bafinamene (2008:68) explains that as a result of the very influential traditional worldviews the African church bears the ethnic colour or feature of the society at large. The communalistic perspective and the kinship system of traditional African societies are key elements to the understanding of people and their behaviours even in church arena. Trying to show the overwhelming power of ethnicity over church influence later he maintains:

In addition, ethnicity remains one of the very challenges facing the African church. ..., Rwanda genocide was mainly an ethnic conflict. This mass murder of more than half a million people from April to June 1994, that shocked the entire world, took place in a country of more than 80% of the population being Christian (:70).

This predominant influence of ethnicity within the African church sometimes or very often plays a counterproductive role, preventing many from leading a normal Christian life of obedience to Bible teachings. The faith that limits the multinational nature and mission of the church just to the limits of their own ethnic group or denomination, or again to the borders of their inner church activities cannot serve the wider surrounding community in any serious way. Van der Walt (2001:103) would characterise this type of Christianity pietistic because of their spirituality which seems to be limited to their ethnocentrism. In his efforts to explain this type of Christianity he states:

Pietism regards the Christian faith as individual piety. It does not necessarily try to escape the harsh realities of life, but get involved in them in the wrong way. A Christian president will, for example, read his Bible and pray for God's guidance, but his daily political duties does not reveal anything of what God requires of political leadership (Van der Walt 2001:103).

This kind of dualistic Christian life is really a serious spiritual and socio-political problem. Such a church and above all its leadership that is armed with a discrimination mind can hardly be, think and work for a loving, compassionate, uniting and servant leadership as indicated earlier in 4.8.1.

4.8. 3 An apolitical church

In general churches are officially registered as apolitical organisations. But the use of the term *apolitical* here is, especially, because of the claims these churches do and the attitudes they adopt in front of problems involving lives of the people of their communities, their dangerous attitudes of indifference and irresponsibility. Assmann (1976:32) suggests that churches which claim to be apolitical or take refuge in their spiritual mission very often leave the world free for the principalities and powers of

social demonology to continue without interference and can be easily mobilised by the ploys of self-interested defenders of the status quo, while in fact they are made to abdicate their real political responsibility. Accordingly, speaking of the nature and context of their declaration, Bafinamene (2008:71) alleges:

Such rhetoric is used at best to express a lack of concern or a feeling of powerlessness in face of social injustice, and at worse to justify or dissimulate tacit support to those in power.

As a matter of fact, churches rooted in the eschatological premillenarist beliefs are strictly private and limit their activities to worship, biblical teaching, evangelism and pastoral care. There, politics may be considered as a “taboo-topic” or be regarded essentially as dirty-hand work.

Accordingly, presenting the findings of his work on mission of the church in society Ramasamy (2004:128) reports that in answering the question on the mission of the church (...), 100 percent saw it as engaging in evangelistic work and saving souls, but 13 percent included the answer, ‘fighting for justice’, while 7 percent also included social action. Van der Walt (2001:103) defines the Christianity of such churches as escapist saying, “Escapism means one tries to escape within the safe walls of one’s religion from the harsh realities of the “outside” world”. Such indifferent churches and their leaders, who, as Tshilenga (2005:165) has observed about church leader of DR Congo, can easily, side with exploiting powers; consequently, they can hardly develop any transformational political leadership.

4.8.4 A challenged church

This is a church that is facing the various challenges of the twenty-first century in a defeated way, never prepared, but always caught off-guard, always overwhelmed. The challenges of various other socially unconstructive and divisive doctrines are above their heads. The challenges of poverty, HIV/AIDS, repeated senseless wars, natural and man-made disasters face them completely unprepared. Many of those have become totally dualist. Speaking of dualism disease on the continent Van der Walt (2001:103) has this to say:

The total spectrum of Christianity on the African continent is infected by the dangerous “virus” that life should be divided into a sacred and secular sphere. Except for a small group of Christians, they lack the comprehensive view of service in God’s kingdom in every area of life. In spite of the fact that they often do not exactly know how to put their reformational beliefs into practice, this small group of Christians adhere to a holistic, world-transformative worldview. Such a broader perspective is slowly developing amongst different denominations, including Reformed, Catholics and Seventh Day Adventist groups.

The inability of this church to understand that by stating: “You are the salt of the earth ... the light of the world ...” or again “Make of the nations My disciples ...” (Matthew 5:13-14; 28:19), the Bible has given them a socio-political mandate, it is hard for them to plan and work for a political or socio-political transformational leadership. The four types of churches studied above, especially their attitude of indifference and irresponsibility towards socio-political challenges facing the African community, oblige me to suggest a different type of African church, a caretaker church that would take responsibility for spiritual and socio-political prevailing problems of our time, facing them to effective resolution in chapter 8.

4.8.5 Political church

Speaking of Jean-Francois Bayart’s writings on political behaviours of African churches, Richard Joseph’s article on the political roles played by African churches suggests another type of African church, *a political church*. Joseph (1993:233-234) alleges:

The behavior of the churches in Cameroon, as in other parts of Africa, alternated, Bayart contends, between rivalry, complementarity, and cooperation with the state. In short, there was an inherent ambiguity in these relations which made the churches simultaneously a major ally of the party-state and also its greatest rival, actual or potential.

This quotation indicates African churches which play a political role. Unfortunately, they can hardly contribute to the social transformation of their community because of their lack of moral consistency, or be a real hope to their society. Accordingly, after analysing African Christianity of our time Van der Walt (2001:102) remarks: “- there is reason

enough for seriously questioning the inherent ability of this type of Christianity to improve the political-economic-social situation. I also don't think it has the inherent power to endure for long". A South African instance of the theology of Separate Equality is more eloquent here. Kinghorn (1990:60)'s discussion on the Theology of Apartheid of the Dutch Reformed Church that provided a moral and spiritual support to an "ungodly economic and political" system since 1927 makes clear an example of an African political church. Later on, this same Kinghorn states:

Since 1947 many attempts have been made to prove theological support for apartheid. The best known, and certainly the most influential, attempt was the 1948 report referred to above... But soon the various reports and documents became highly sophisticated as apartheid theology took the shape of a doctrinal theology (Kinghorn 1990:73).

Such a political church seems a dehumanised one; it is suffering from wrong theologies, which lack continuity between Christianity and the African cultural and religious heritage (Turaki 1999:10); it is also suffering from lack of unconditional love and proper Christian character. And in the particular case of the apartheid theology, an emotional and unbiblical theology, motivated by evil, can hardly develop an appropriate ethical and leadership character for the adequate transformation of the community.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter has permitted to analyse the socio-political context of the Democratic Republic of Congo, specifically, the land and people of the land before it was called Congo and afterwards. Such social, economic, political, educational and religious aspects of the people of the Congo have been briefly examined according to the three historical periods of the life of this nation to see what has happened to its people that, at first, enjoyed a rich African democracy, sometimes well-associated with a traditional non-exploitative monarchy and a sort of servant leadership.

The analysis of this context has led to the understanding that the leadership of the Congo has been progressively and negatively impacted through the contact with

foreigners, especially, through colonisation. Gordon (2002:7-13)'s observations on colonial politics in Africa find full application in DR Congo situation. Colonial education (despite some benefits), paved the way for Europeanised and acculturated Africans, many of who have also suffered seriously from inferiority complex and abnormal admiration of the other up to now. However, this foreign education also opened them to modern global cultures and international affairs to be able to claim the independence of the Congo. These same educated Congolese elites, who also came to be called by the colonisers, *the Civilised*, to create an undue feeling of superiority complex in them and to separate them from their fellow country people, became falsely assimilated with the white colonisers. Psychologically, the elites were prepared to serve the colonisers to whom they were assimilated and to exploit the Congolese masses from whom they were distanced emotionally and socio-politically. The Congolese educated elites, colonial administration and economy were main tools of alienation used to bring about negative change in the community (Kagwanja 2000:27). Wanyama (2000:109-110)'s words concerning the consequences of colonial laws and administration are also fully applicable in the context of the Congo. Colonial administration and laws also excluded Congolese from effectively participating in the economic and political life of their nation with as consequence that after the official independence of the country its people were almost totally ill-prepared to be efficient contributors (Kagwanja 2000: 27)).

The chapter has discussed also types or aspects of African churches found in the land and their negative influence over the work of developing the needed leadership. Some of these churches are called apolitical because of their shying away from their mission of looking for socio-political good of their communities. The missionary church fails in the mission of real spiritual transformation of the members and understanding and respect of the local culture. The ethnic church misunderstands the multinational nature and mission of the church. Church members and/or church goers respect and value only people from their own ethnic, clan, or again or region and denomination. They often consider their faith as something simply private or personal. The challenged church stops disarmed in front of new spiritual and socio-political problems; the political church plays political roles in the community but in a very inconsistent way. The political church unethically and uninformedly acts in ways, which cannot allow effective transformation

of individuals and their communities or development of transformational leadership. All this failing and defeated Christianity appeals for more thought-through solutions to remedy to this shallow or superficial Christianity (Van der Walt 2001:104). The African community needs a proactive, socio-political, and challenge-defeating church that can stand up and pronounce with Paul “I can do all things through Christ who strengthens me” (Philippians 4:13) as detailed in Chapter 8. The absence of a proactive and socio-political church in a community where a transformational leadership is direly needed is worsened by the presence of a poor church leadership that lacks both in Christian character and effective leadership skills. The African church needs to speedily resolve the crisis of its poor leadership to be able to develop a transformational leadership for other organisations.

In short, the chapter has allowed the opportunity to see what the people and their leadership have undergone through in terms of the chosen periodisation. During the pre-colonial era Congolese leadership was developed and exercised in the natural context of the traditional Africa where external cultural influence was almost inexistent. The leadership of the Congo Free State as well as that of the Belgian Congo was mainly influenced by the colonial culture of violence, brutality, corrupt actions of the colonisers and their alienating education, principally devised for foreigners’ benefits. The leadership developed in this colonial period has had very negative impact on the lives of Congolese up to now, mainly because of its selfish nature and continual negative influence during the Cold War and neo-colonialism, and because of its dishonest service to western powers that envy the natural resources of the country and continue to play the custodian of this Congolese leadership. The people of the Congo are still suffering from the legacy inherited by these leaders and their children more than fifty years after the official independence in 1960.

Poor African socio-political leadership, especially the political leadership of DR Congo, and most particularly, the concern to transform Africa through an informed and fully committed leadership take me a step further to study the specific political context and climate of the twenty-first century Africa where the needed leadership has to be developed in the next chapter of the thesis.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE SOCIO-POLITICAL CLIMATE; THE IDEOLOGY OF AFRICAN RENAISSANCE AND ITS CONTRIBUTION TO LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT IN THE TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY AFRICA

5.1 Introduction

This chapter answers the fourth subsidiary question of this research by studying the socio-political climate of Africa in the twenty-first century. It answers then the question asking how African Renaissance can contribute to leadership development in the twenty-first century Africa. Therefore, it deals with the contextual understanding of the continent in terms of the chosen points. The chapter also analyses the African Renaissance movement to see how it also contributes to the development of the needed transformational leadership for the renewal of the continent. The pioneers of African Renaissance, the causes of the movement and its development are also examined so as to have a clear idea about the contributions of the movement and of its leaders' actions to the development of the leadership for socio-political transformation in the continent.

Some of salient and poignant problems that have marred the socio-political life in the continent as well as the effect of the international environment that has been impacting negatively or positively the desired transformation in the continent are carefully studied to secure the development of the needed leadership. The social situation concerning the health, economic and political life of the Africans is examined to guide our actions in the subsequent chapters. Globalisation, neo-liberal economic activities of the multinational companies as well as unwanted illegal and destructive behaviours and interventions of the West and UN in Africa to contravene Africans' solutions to African problems are analysed for a proper education of Africans to be able to plan, work and act in a very informed way. The main sections of this chapter are socio-political climate, renaissance, pan-Africanism, African Renaissance in the twenty-first century Africa.

5.2 Socio-political climate in the twenty-first Century Africa

The section analyses the economic, social, and political state of Africa in the twenty-first century. It has specifically considered the health, standard of living of the population and the rule of law and human rights have been observed in their communities.

5.2.1 Leadership of Cold War and donor democracy

The time after the official independence of the African countries has been marked by different social, economic and political effects, most of which were not positive. Abdulai has treated the post-colonial and post-post-colonial period as two different periods (Abdulai 2001:59-60). The post-colonial period is the period that extends from independence of most of African countries to the demise or the demise of the Berlin Wall in 1989. He depicts this period as that which saw the departure of Africa's colonial masters, and the ushering in of independence and an indigenous African leadership in which the populace placed their hope for their development (:73-74). He then defines the post-post-colonial period as the one extending from 1989-2000. Here, the Cold War has ended and the Cold War facts have hit home in Africa. Some of these facts are described below. Africans have been awakened to the fact of their marginalisation in an increasingly global environment (:86). Speaking of the high awareness of neo-colonialism during the Post-Colonial Period, Bellagamba (1992:93) observes: "The decade of the 1970s opened the eyes of many people to the oppression inflicted upon them by neo-colonialism – that is, by the economic exploitation, by the political maneuvering and by the new colonizers". Mbeki (2009) calls the same period the period of donor democracy. He then observes:

Africa's era of dictatorships and one-man rule was simultaneously the heyday of Western donor interventions on the continent. The two elements worked in partnership, reinforcing each other, with the central objective of destroying both indigenous, autonomous institutions and leaders who tried to promote any cooperation among Africans that was devoted to advancing the interests of the African people (not Western interests). The structural adjustment programmes

promoted by the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and Western donors since the early 1980s were foreign interventions by the West that undermined the development of Africa's social institutions (Mbeki 2009:34).

This study has not used Abdulai's subdivision of this period into two because there is no significant difference between the behaviours of the African elite, the main actors of the post-colonial and the post-post-colonial periods. I therefore speak of the two periods as one, namely the post-colonial era.

Most of the socio-political and economic problems of the post-colonial era in Sub-Saharan Africa can be laid at the feet of its post-colonial African leadership and their western partners. The proliferation of one-party states, dictatorships and kleptocracies during this period cannot go unmentioned. These leaders perpetuated the mismanagement, greedy elitism and single party rule bequeathed to them by colonial powers; they continue thus to use the same old script though the former actors seem to be out of the scene (Katongole 2011:41-48). During the same time, the departing colonisers kept their imperial umbilical cords tightly fastened to their ex-colonies through the African elite they had left behind them. This situation fostered a climate of dependency of ex-African colonies to the former colonial masters. Hence, the post-colonial African leadership did not fare better than their colonial masters in their deeds when they took over power. Their numerous bad economic and social policies, their neglect of agriculture, their roles in the fanning of the flames of ethnic conflicts are just a few of the missteps that characterised their rules which have caused some of Africa's political and economic crisis (Abdulai 2001:73-74).

5.2. 2 Health issues: HIV/AIDS in sub-Saharan Africa

HIV/AIDS is one of the health scourges that plaguing the continent since the end of the 20th century. Between one in twenty and one in ten Africans aged 15-49 is HIV-positive, and more than 20 million Africans have already died as a result of the epidemic. There is, however, not a single type of HIV epidemic in Africa. Across the continent HIV shows a great geographical variance. Countries in the Southern Africa form the epicentre of the global pandemic. South Africa counts more than one thousand new infections a day, the

highest in the world, while in Botswana, Lesotho, Namibia, Swaziland and Zimbabwe at least one in five adults carries HIV. These are “hyperendemic” countries according to UNAIDS classification. By contrast, the general rates of infection in West Africa have been consistently lower, with countries registering between 1% and 7% prevalence rates among adults. These are still generalised epidemics, with concentrated foci among certain sectors of the population, such as commercial sex workers and their clients. Eastern and Central Africa exhibits a mix between these two patterns. North Africa, by contrast, has a low HIV prevalence, well less than 1%. In 2007 an estimated 1.7 million new HIV infections occurred in North Africa. Half the newly infected individuals in the North African region are young people aged 15–24 and a majority of them are women (<http://www.hiv/aids.org>).

Data on HIV prevalence indicate that Africa’s HIV and AIDS epidemic followed a sharp upward curve in the 1990s, followed by stabilisation and small declines. The timing and pattern of these declines varies from country to country and there are some that have bucked the trend. But caution is in order. The epidemic grew very fast but is fading extremely slowly—HIV prevalence in sub-Saharan Africa remains far higher than anywhere else in the world. Second, the absolute number of people living with HIV and AIDS is still increasing. This is due in part to population growth offsetting the small declines in prevalence and partly due to the availability of treatment which prolongs the lives of people living with HIV and AIDS. In turn this means that the numbers of people falling sick with AIDS related illnesses and dying from them is still rising. Third, conditions that favour the spread of HIV remain and the epidemic had the potential for a rebound. But the final reason is the most important. The impact of HIV and AIDS, in terms of numbers of adult deaths, numbers of children orphaned, and the other impacts of the loss of human capital on society and the economy, will continue to increase. In most parts of the continent the full impact of AIDS will continue to be felt in the coming decades. In countries with high national HIV prevalence significant demographic changes are occurring. These effects include radical increases in mortality, declines in life expectancy, disproportionate impacts on women and fundamental changes in household structures. Most of the evidence for demographic changes comes from southern Africa,

where the epidemics have been most intense and efforts to understand the consequences most focused.

HIV and AIDS slow population growth rates more sharply than otherwise. Some countries in the region are projected to experience near-zero population growth in a few years (figure 1.3) (earlier projections of population decline have been revised). And by 2015 the populations of Botswana, Lesotho, South Africa, Swaziland and Zimbabwe will be stagnant because deaths—largely due to AIDS— will almost match births (<http://www.hiv/aids.org>).

5.2.3 Poor leadership and governance

Africa is poor because the leaders are very poor-minded people, uncaring and selfish. Abdulai (2001:74) supports that the post-colonial African leadership has performed poorly, stating: “They reproduced and perpetuated the worst aspects of mismanagement, greed, and elitism bequeathed by the colonial powers”. They come to power with fake promises and once they are up in the high offices, they forget about the people who put them there. Renton, Seddon & Zeilig (2007:187) report that such was the behaviours of Joseph Desire Kabila, the former president of DR Congo.

Many leaders, for example, have about eight to ten different mansions each with big businesses at home and abroad while the poor people in the villages do not even have access to clean drinking water. The President and the ministers live in big mansions and send their children abroad to study in higher institutions whereas most children remain unschooled because they cannot even afford to pay for primary education. They remain at home because their parents cannot pay their school fees. All the ministers and those in the higher positions have swimming pools in their homes. They waste water whereas the poor of their people do not even have access to clean drinking water (<http://www.cozay.com>). Reporting on the behaviours of the Congolese (Zaire) in the higher political positions, Banza (2003:64) observes that some used to travel to Europe at weekends just to watch movies while many of their fellow citizens went to bed without food.

The most painful part is that the foreign aids sent to Africa in the name of the poor people in Africa do not reach the poor people who need them the most. However, the poor people who deserve the aids the most get nothing at all. Instead those in higher positions spend the money on themselves buying big cars and building mansions - both at home and abroad while the poor die from extreme poverty and hunger, sometimes with nothing at all to eat (<http://www.cozay.com>).

5.2.4 Globalisation, liberal capitalism and neo-colonialism

With the withdrawal of imperial powers since the official independence of African countries, the old form of imperial presence has been replaced by an exploitation economy in which multinational corporations in the former colonies continue to represent the interests of the super powers. This situation still persists in the African continent, marring the growth and development of most countries to date. Along these lines, Neuland (2005: 151) claims that “The World Bank and the IMF are the two of the most powerful international financial institutions in the world”. They are the major sources of lending to African countries and use the loans they provide as leverage to prescribe policies and dictate major changes in the economies of these countries – the so-called “conditionality” factor, and so on. He adds on, pointing out that the World Bank and the IMF are controlled by the world’s richest countries, particularly the US, which is the main share-holder in both institutions. These countries ensure that these institutions act in the interests of promoting a model of economic growth (called neoliberal) that benefits the richest countries and the international private sector.

A lot of wars are orchestrated, well waged, fought and won, massive infrastructure destruction done, human lives lost, huge material items destroyed, and environmental disasters left behind in the fake name of democracy and rule of law and protection of innocent civilians as detailed by Mbeki (2011:3-4). Against these fake western good deeds for Africans, Mkapa (2011:4-5) deplores the manipulative western diplomats’ attitudes and actions and the tendency of foreign “economic diplomacy aids”, which are more to their own benefits than those of African aided countries. These skillful manipulations generally lead to further de-development rather than any development or

economic growth. Supportively, Moltmann (1983:133) observes: “These poor nations are underdeveloped because they have been de-developed – dragged down by the wealthy nations of the world. They are hungry because they are being starved. They are getting poorer because they are being forced into debts.”

The misdeeds of the post-colonial periods in the different parts of the continent, and especially, its perpetuation under various forms have called for the continual need for the renaissance in the African continent, as described below.

5.3 Renaissance, its definition and origin

The section analyses the concept of renaissance, in general, before dealing with the specific aspect of African Renaissance. Then the definition of the concept of renaissance is discussed, its origin and evolution throughout human history reviewed. The link between Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance is also studied. A special emphasis is then particularly laid on the need for African renaissance and the relationship between African renaissance and leadership development.

5.3.1 Definition of Renaissance

This subsection offers definitions of the term *Renaissance* to help understand its subsequent applications. Allen (2000:1183) defines Renaissance as:

(1) The humanistic revival of classical influence in Europe from the 14th to 17th cent., expressed in a flowering of the arts, architecture, and literature and the beginnings of the modern science. (2) (Often Renaissance) is a movement or period of vigorous artistic and intellectual activity. (3) a rebirth or revival (early French renaissance, rebirth), from *renaistre* to be born again, from Latin *renasce*, from *RE+nasce* to be born.

Brown (1993: 2544) also defines it as:

(1) “The revival of art and literature under the influence of classical models between the 14th and 16th cents, begun in Italy, the period of this movement; the

style of art, architecture, etc., developed in and characteristic of this period; (2) any revival or period of significant improvement and new life in cultural, scientific, economic, or other areas of activity.

Venter & Neuland (2005:25) explain that “the word *renaissance* is usually applied to an intellectual and cultural movement that began in Italy in the 14th century, spread to other Northern European countries, and flourished until the mid-16th century”. They later conclude that

the European Renaissance was, then, an age of civilisation in which artistic, social, scientific and political thought turned in new directions in various European countries. Also, and perhaps most importantly for the discussion of an African renaissance, during this period Europe emerged from the economic stagnation of the Middle Ages and experienced a time of economic and financial growth, ... (:26).

5. 3.2 *Origin of Renaissance*

Venter & Neuland (2005:26) explain that *renaissance* was coined by the French historian, Jules Michelet, and expanded on by the Swiss historian, Jacob Burckhardt, in the 19th century to mean *rebirth*, and that this name has been historically used in contrast to the “Dark Ages”, a term used by Petrarch for what we now call the Middle Ages. Following Petrarch’s lead, the term had long been considered appropriate because during the Renaissance, the literature and culture of the ancient civilisations of Greece and Rome were adopted by scholars and artists in Italy, and widely disseminated through printing. The present trend among historians is to discuss each so-called renaissance in more particular terms, e.g., the “Italian Renaissance”, the “English Renaissance”, etc. This terminology is particularly useful because it eliminates the need for fitting the “Renaissance” into a chronology that previously held that it was preceded by the Middle Ages and followed by the Reformation, which was, many argue, patently false. The same authors declare later that in this context the term *renaissance* will often be used as an alternative to and interchangeably with *civilisation* (:27).

In his efforts to explain *renaissance* in African context, Okumu (2002:53) observes that *renaissance* is not a new concept in terms of world history. The term had

never been used except in a cursory and non technical manner by Dr. Nnamdi Azikiwe, the first president of Nigeria, and Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana. It was Dr. Azikiwe who first wrote about what he termed *Renascent Africa* in the newspaper *Western African Pilot* in 1938, but he never attempted an intellectual exposition of its meaning. We can only assume that he was referring to the birth of African nationalism in Nigeria in particular (of which he and Obafemi Awolowo were the fathers) and in West Africa in general. However, in his *Preface to Problematising the "African Renaissance"*, Maloka (2000:i-ii) states:

Indeed, the "renaissance" entered the African political vocabulary as "regeneration in the 19th century in response, firstly, to the enslavement of Africans in the Diaspora, and, secondly, to the colonisation of Africa. A number of Africans, mainly slaves and ex-slaves, grappled with the new reality with the hope of bringing about a "new" Africa. Among the early proponents of the "regeneration" idea were two Sierra Leoneans – James "Africanus" Horton and James Johnson – a Liberian, Edward Blyden, and to a certain extent, the South African Pixley ka Isaka Seme. Blyden was probably the most influential of these "regeneration" scholars, not least because his notion of "African Personality" was later to be adopted by Kwame Nkrumah. What was common to these 19th century proponents of "regeneration" was a belief that the key to Africa's regeneration lay in its contact with Europe, mainly in the field of Christian evangelisation, industry and science. The first solution was sought in the "back-to-Africa" movement – a process that led to the founding of Sierra Leone and Liberia in 1787 and 1833 respectively – but this later gave way, towards the end of the 19th century, to positions that aimed at improving the plight of Africans in the Diaspora in the countries they found themselves in.

Explaining further, E. Maloka affirms that the hopes of the "regeneration" era were shattered ... Thus the heightening of nationalist resistance to colonialism was accompanied by the hopes of the coming into being of another "new" Africa, especially in the inter-war period. One of the most influential figures during this period was the Nigerian, Nnamdi Azikiwe, whose *Renascent Africa* (1937) distinguished between the "old" Africa which, according to him, was characterised by stagnation and tribalism, and "new" Africa of economic regeneration, mental emancipation and national self-determination. Azikiwe's influence may have persisted in Nigeria, but the period of decolonisation witnessed the emergence of a new breed of African leaders in the form of Kwame Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Sekou Touré, Kenneth Kaunda, and Leopold Sedar

Senghor. The philosophical themes that were to dominate African political discourse, especially after independence in the 1960s, again centered around a concept of a “new” Africa. Senghor, as one of the founders of Negritude, crafted his conception of a “new” Africa within the framework of his philosophy and his interest in aesthetics and culture. One of the central themes of his concern was a process of African self-discovery and self-affirmation. Like Edward Blyden, he conflated “race” with “culture” because, to him, “Emotion is African, as Reason is Hellenic (: i-ii).

There seems to be differences in the views of the two African scholars as concerns when the term *renaissance* was first used in African political discourse in this subsection. Okumu (2002:53) observes that it was used in 1938 while Maloka (2000) suggests that it entered earlier. Given that such debate is beyond the main concern of the section and thesis, it cannot be dealt with here. However, the scholars suggest that the term was the birth or renewal of/in the continent, which introduces the next section on pan-Africanism.

5.4 Pan-Africanism

The section explains the movement of Pan-Africanism, which started at the beginning of the 19th century claiming self-determination of people of African descent. It also observes that African Renaissance has an intimate link with pan-Africanism. Explaining Pan-Africanism, (Makinda & Okumu (2008:18) observe:

Like most social-science concepts, Pan-Africanism defies any precise definitions. Colin Legum calls it “a belief in the uniqueness and spiritual unity of black people; and acknowledgement of their right to self-determination in Africa, and to be treated with dignity as equals in all parts of the world.

Locating the term in time, Agozino (1999:xiii) remarks: “The term Pan-Africanism was first used in 1900 by a Trinidadian lawyer who was based in London”. In the second half of the twentieth century, African governments dominated the movement and the people were excluded. Thanks to the constitutive Act of the African Union, the people are slowly being rehabilitated and Pan-Africanism is increasingly becoming a movement in

which both governments and people participate to shape the continent's future (Makinda & Okumu 2008:18). African Renaissance has then been born in the spirit of pan-Africanism as shown below.

5.5 African Renaissance: need; origin; and expansion

This subsection is designed to define African Renaissance and explain its origins in the continent and the reasons why African scholars and leaders are interested in the idea and the need for such Renaissance. The subsection counts five subsections: Definition of and need for renaissance, origin of African Renaissance and philosophy and practical cases of African Renaissance.

5.5.1 Definition

Describing the concept of African Renaissance, Banda (2010:6) observes:

The basic assumption is that a “renaissance” presupposes a recreation or a restoration of a situation based on a given past with a view to a better future. Such a ‘past’ should have a profound heritage or should at least have a recognisable cultural history upon which the call for African Renaissance can be based. This then can give the movement enough inner resolve to cause it to happen.

Explaining African Renaissance and its role, Ramasamy (2004:86) states that “African Renaissance is the initiative of several African leaders concerned about the state of the continent”. He then quotes the words of Thabo Mbeki (2002:125) stating:

When we speak of the African Renaissance, we speak of ending poverty and underdevelopment on our continent and, therefore, the building of a better life for the ordinary people of Africa, especially the poor, and the assertion of our pride as human beings with a culture and identity that define our personality.

As to locate African Renaissance and define its essential issue in order to regain the historical initiative as African, Diop (1999:5-6) observes:

In this age of science and technology, the essential issue at stake in the African Renaissance is that of devising ways and means to revert this age-old regressive trend and to regain the historical initiative as a people, in order to secure Africa's reconstruction and development on the basis of the vital needs and legitimate hopes of the majority of Africans. Now, after political liberation the priority is to decolonise the mind, in so far as any renaissance process first starts with a degree of cultural awakening. In this regard ...

These last two definitions, one from a politician and the other from an African scholar of the time have afforded me to conclude that African Renaissance is then the rebirth or renewal of the African people intellectually, culturally, economically, socially and politically based on their past and present experiences for a better future. Then the origin of African Renaissance and its role will be discussed.

Speaking of "South African" African Renaissance, Maloka (2000:1) observes that beyond the popular usage of the concept, "African Renaissance" features prominently in the outlook of the African National Congress (ANC)-led government. Since the concept was first employed in the official ANC discourse by President Thabo Mbeki, in 1997; then, an African Renaissance conference was organised in September 1998, and this resulted in the publication of an edited collection, *African Renaissance: The New Struggle*. This conference prepared the ground for the launch of the African Renaissance Institute (ARI) in 1999 and then, the South African Chapter of the African Renaissance (SACAR), which is supposed to spearhead a social movement for the reawakening of the African continent. And thus, the ANC declared the year 2000 the dawn of the African Century (:2). Thanks to the passion with which President Thabo Mbeki continued to advocate for the concept and its meaning, has attracted a lot of interest, thus earning himself the name "The Renaissance Man" (:1-2).

5.5.2 Need for African Renaissance

The necessity of or reason why the African renaissance is needed in the continent is a very important point because it encourages and stimulates intellectual curiosity in order to learn more about the subject. The following are those who have clearly stated those reasons. Venter & Neuland (2005: 76) declare that

the *raison d'être* for a renaissance on the African continent is the need to empower African people to deliver themselves ... from the legacy of colonialism and neocolonialism and to situate themselves on the global stage as equal and respected contributors to, as well as beneficiaries of, all the achievements of human civilization. Just as the continent was once the cradle of humanity and an important contributor to civilisation, this renaissance should empower it to help the world rediscover the oneness of the human race.

Diop (1999:5-6) specifies that the need for African renaissance is to decolonise the minds of Africans and to secure their development and reconstruction of their communities. Speaking of the address of the deputy president of South Africa, Thabo Mbeki, to a group of business leaders in April 1997, in Virginia, USA, Maloka (2000:2) says that Mbeki unveiled what were later to be known as the key pillars of his conception of African Renaissance: [1] socio-cultural, [2] political (democracy) and [3] economic regeneration, and [4] the improvement of Africa's geo-political standing in world affairs. These pillars also stand like objectives of his conception of African Renaissance. These can be the reasons for African Renaissance.

5.5.3 Origin of African Renaissance

Speaking of the origin of the African Renaissance, Ramasamy (2005: 67-88) explains that there are discernible antecedents in the final statement of the Conference on Security, Stability, Development and Co-operation in Africa (CSSDCA). The statement was published in May 1991 as the *Kampala Document*. It was at this meeting that the OAU Secretary-General, Salim Ahmed Salim, expressed the need for the "dawn of a new order" in Africa. The Executive Secretary of the Economic Commission of Africa spoke of the *birth of a new Africa* and Africa's *second liberation* (Maloka & le Roux 2000:25). This shows that the notion of an African Renaissance has been occupying the mind of leading African figures for decades. The idea was motivated by the desire to bring about political security and stability, economic prosperity and social peace, harmony and a

restoration of African pride. Commenting of the historical development of NEPAD, Neuland (2005: 262) explains:

In his report back to the 50th national conference of the African National Congress (ANC) in Mafikeng in December 1997, then president, Nelson Mandela, set an ambitious agenda for his party to pursue. This agenda included reconstruction development goals, the spiritual and moral renewal of individuals and institutions, an African renaissance, and a vision of a world of democracy, peace, prosperity and social progress. The reference to the African renaissance was the theme subsequently enunciated by President Thabo Mbeki in his launch of the NEPAD plan of action. It can therefore be seen as a precursor reference to the NEPAD initiative that was to follow.

Then Ramasamy goes on saying that the modern development of the Renaissance took the form of an economic initiative on the part of South Africa in a strategic partnership with Nigeria and Algeria. This was embodied in the Millennium Africa Recovery Plan (MAP) which South Africa marketed as the blueprint for the continent's social and economic revival. Subsequently, MAP was merged with Senegal's Omega Plan and together they represented the shared vision, the New Africa Initiative (NAI), of Africa's leaders taking the responsibility to collectively addressing Africa's development challenge within the global context. For its part it aimed to impress upon the African leadership the ideals, values and norms of democracy, good governance, and human rights. NAI expected that the developed world play its part in assisting Africa to extricate itself from its predicament of marginalisation, underdevelopment and poverty. NAI aimed at coordinating development in Africa, and attracting aid and investment from the West. It hoped also to eliminate the trade barrier imposed on African products, and the West's agricultural subsidies of their own goods, in return for fostering democracy and sound economic management on the continent (Ramasamy 2005:87).

Speaking of the merger of MAP and Omega: The New Africa Initiative (NAI) Neuland (2005: 265) explains:

For his part, President Abdoulaye Wade presented the Omega Plan to the France-Africa Summit in January 2001. It has formerly been launched in June 2001 at the International Conference of Economists on the Omega Plan. Subsequently, efforts began to merge the two initiatives. These efforts were crowned with success and

the merged document that saw the light was labeled the New African Initiative (NAI). In its preamble, the NAI stated that the initiative was Africa's strategy for achieving "sustainable development in 21st century". The NAI was submitted and adopted by the AU Summit in Lusaka, Zambia, on 11 July 2001. It was to be the new framework document for the development of the African continent.

However, the NAI initiative, and its final conversion into the NEPAD strategy, was to benefit considerably from research work undertaken by the Economic Commission for Africa (ECA).

Subsequently, NAI has evolved into what we now know as the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). This is a plan aimed at developing a partnership with the European countries for the advancement of the African countries. The next subsection will consider analyzing the spread of African Renaissance in the continent.

5.5.4 African Renaissance philosophy and its practical uses

In general, African Renaissance philosophy considers very seriously the past of Africa and its present socio-political positioning and conditions. This past is appreciated as it relates to the glorious cultural, social, political and economic life of Africa and compared to its gloomy present. Slavery, colonialism, neo-colonialism and continual western destructive behaviours and actions have been blamed for the socio-political difficulties in the 21st century Africa. As a solution a transformational leadership needs to be developed through consequent education on the past and the present of the continent for its better future. Such books as *How Europe underdeveloped Africa* by Rodney (1982), *Africa define yourself* by Mbeki (2003) and more are then used for the purpose. The forgotten or less considered side of their intervention is spirituality or the seminal role God and his true spirituality-based intervention can play in the transformation of people and their communities as suggested by Banda (2010:178-179).

This philosophy of African Renaissance seems to be the common tendency in the development of leadership for the transformation in the continent for African Renaissance inspired-institutions such as TMALI as detailed in Chapter Six. The schools generally educate Africans to know themselves well, to understand their past and appreciate their culture to true value, conducting at the same time a serious cultural, psychological, social and political therapy in their lives to possibly become committed to

the idea of transforming the continent. Because of poor knowledge of their history and cultural values and because of their colonial past, a lot of Africans suffer from an identity crisis and inferiority/superiority complexes (Fanon 1967:25, 60; 1993:44; Banza 2003:61-67). While African Renaissance philosophers and/or scholars appeal to the glorious past of Africa for psychotherapy, theologians seem to find no meaning in such an exercise. Banda (2010:6-7) simply observes that it is a futile exercise for common Africans with basic needs, for example, stating:

My hypothesis is that in as much as the information about the glorious past of the continent is important, at least for historical purposes and other cultural heritage reasons, it means little to the child dying of hunger in drought-stricken wastelands of Africa, nor will it give hope to the fugitives of war with death lingering over them like a dark cloud of doom. African Renaissance should expeditiously move to salvage the situation while there is still hope. It is clear that if African Renaissance should be a concept to be endeared and owned by Africans it should swiftly move to address the most basic and urgent issues facing the continent.

Banda's logic in the above citation seems to lose sight of an important truth. He has stated it earlier on the sixth page of the same thesis, observing: "The basic assumption is that a 'renaissance' presupposes a recreation or a restoration of a situation based on a given past with a view to a better future". It is then difficult, if not impossible, to restore or recreate something you do not know. So, to restore something of the past you need first to delve deep into that past to find out what it really was. That is just the opposite of the logic of African Renaissance and its schools and/or followers. Developing transformational leaders as well as restoring the golden past of a nation or a people is less a business of hungry children dying in droughts; it is rather mostly and not exclusively, about strong people who can plan and act efficiently for the salvation of those who cannot fight for themselves and who are dying. The view which ignores the impact of the long-standing negative influence of colonisation and the continuous malicious behaviours, attitudes and manipulations of the western powers that negatively affect African leadership and their communities is a mistaken one. Experience, as indicated by Banza (2003:61-67), shows that a lot of Africans are struggling with the problem of identity and self-esteem necessary for them to stand strong enough to salvage someone else. This experience equally underscores the urgency of digging deep into the past of

people in order to better restore their broken lives. Mbigi takes the debate on knowing history from a different perspective equally important. He then observes: “Without knowledge of history or his links to the past, man is a social amnesiac, both intellectually and therefore to some extent emotionally rootless” (Mbigi 2005:79). This quote underlines the urgency of knowing our own history, as African theologians, leaders or missiologists; because without it, we will be but intellectually and emotionally rootless Africans or social amnesiacs denuded of any emotional roots. Such a situation will render us unable to think what our people think or feel what they feel to be able to socialise with them for common good.

The subsequent subsections practically showcase the philosophy of African Renaissance and the way it has been used to carry out some sort of cultural, social, psychological and political therapy in the lives of people to possibly educate them to become committed to the idea of transforming the continent. The following 5 aspects have been briefly explored: falsehood of the original cursedness of Blacks, economically and socially developed Africa, educated Africa, socially, economically and politically colonial and de-developed Africa. TMALI when dealing with these subjects and pursuing specific objectives, the students will attend long lectures or read extensively on the topic to get deeper insights, which is not possible in a thesis like this.

5.5.4.1 Falsehood of the original cursedness of Blacks

The perception that black people are unfortunate and victims of countless socio-political evils seems to be so widespread and generally accepted by Blacks. Cursed black people and their consequent failures in socio-political affairs is an issue which a theology concerned about the transformation of Africans and people of African descent cannot overlook because of its negative impact on their lives. Both Christians and Non-Christian people are affected by the perception. A Congolese musician sang: “God, why so many sorrows and sufferings? Where did the Blacks come from?”. And another Congolese sang: “Blessedness of the white man! Black people’s woe!” A French musician also sang: “Black is black; there is no hope”.

Felder (1993:15) is concerned about the huge number of the people who believe that Blacks have been cursed through Ham. Banza (2003:39-43) lists cases of highly educated Africans including pastors who convincingly plead that the socio-political woes of the continent are due to this curse. The so-called blackness of the skin, which is thought to be the result of sin that has doomed Blacks to slavery, colonisation and various exploitative consequences, represents a serious socio-political pathology that requires psychotherapy through clear information and/or counselling. As concerns this curse in Genesis 9:18-29, Ham is not the recipient of the curse. The text explicitly says, 'Let Canaan be cursed.' The Bible provides no evidence of somebody who has ever become black because of sinning; the scarce cases of skin-colour change as in Number 12:1-16 where Miriam acquired leprosy and became as white as snow because of murmuring against Moses the servant of God as well as that of Gehazi, in 2 Kings 5:15-27, who also became white because of lying, slander and greed, are no indicative of races Felder (1993:47, 601). Speaking of the emerging African Renaissance, Mbeki (2003:130) contends that the so-called curse must be challenged. Felder (1993:ix) equally contends the curse of Blacks through Ham observing: "The curse of Ham is a post-biblical myth. In fact, the sons of Noah, Shem, Ham and Japheth do not represent three different races. (It is an absurdity of no small order to claim that Noah and his wife could produce offspring that would constitute three distinct racial types!)"

5.5.4.2 Of social and economic development

Okumu (2002:25) tells the history of Ibn Battuta, the renowned Moroccan traveller, who, in 1332, travelled the East Coast of Africa and of how he noted two well-established Swahili centres of civilisation where trade was already flourishing: the city of Kilwa with its "many handsome houses made of stone and mortar, with many windows, and Mombasa, another northern Swahili city, which he describes as "a place of much traffic with a good harbour where are always moored great boats of many kinds. One could visit a few merchants' houses and stand in awe of those who had desired and built them. Commenting on the situation of the 15th century Africa and Europe, Rodney (1982:69) observes that several historians of Africa have pointed out that after surveying the

developed areas of the continent in the fifteenth century and those within Europe at the same date, the difference between the two was in no way to Africa's discredit. Indeed, the first Europeans to reach West and East Africa by sea were the ones who indicated that in most respects African development was comparable to that which they knew. For example, when the Dutch visited the city of Benin they described the town to be very great, with broad streets, not paved, but seemingly seven or eight times broader than the Warmoes Street, an important street, in Amsterdam. However, to spare his readers of possible confusion, he then specifies the specific domains where Europeans had superiority over Africans during that time regarding technological advancement, stating: "There were certain specific features which were highly advantageous to Europe – such as shipping and (to a lesser extent) guns" (:103). Speaking of the production of precious metals, especially of gold and copper, and of the processing of those metals in the kingdom of Mali in the 14th and 17th centuries, Bilé (2008:83-84) observes that those had highly enriched the empire; and the African artists who used those metals in their practices were far better than those of Europe of the same period.

5.5.4.3 Of political leadership disorientation

This subsection deals basically with some of the historical actions, especially, misdeeds of the colonial period that have inclined Africa into the present poor leadership, confusion and underdevelopment. Speaking of the negative political impact of colonialism, Rodney (1982:225) declares:

The negative impact of colonialism in political terms was quite dramatic. Overnight, African political states lost their power, independence, and meaning, irrespective of whether they were big empires or small polities. Certain traditional rulers were kept in office, and the formal structure of some kingdoms was partially retained, but the substance of political life was quite different. Political power had passed into the hands of foreign overlords. Of course, numerous African states in previous centuries had passed through the cycle of growth and decline. But colonial rule was different. So long as it lasted, not a single African state could flourish.

Explaining the particular importance of the traditional leader in Africa, and of his behaving with dignity, and the possible inherent consequences of his loss of power and

humiliation, Okyerefo observes that the chief is the military leader of his people and leads in warfare; his capture means the surrender of his people in battle. He is the embodiment of the rich culture and traditions of his people. Therefore, his own conduct in public is of great importance with respect to circumspection and dignity (Okyerefo 2001:113). The public humiliation of the leader who had lost power had very lasting negative effect both on himself and on the whole people. Public humiliation, loss of dignity, loss of human rights and dispossession of lands and goods led to total poverty, confusion and disorientation.

In the preface to his book *African Leadership in the Twentieth Century* Gordon suggests that the objective of the book was to explain, through the past, how Africa's present leadership came to be what it is today and the implications for the future. That he would like to explore a neglected aspect of the African experience, i.e. leadership development. Then, he explains how colonial systems had a negative impact on the African leadership stating:

However, with little or no regard for the history, customs and traditions of African peoples, the colonial powers disrupted and dismantled the continent's political leadership. In its place, systems of graft, greed and exploitation served to pervert African leadership to the point where it, in essence, ceased to exist. Whether through undermining, eliminating, or co-opting, one of the major goals of the colonial powers was control of African political leadership (Gordon 2002:3).

Commenting also on the destructive role played by Westerners who colonised Africa, Wanyama (2000:109-110) has this to say:

The onset of colonialism saw the disruption of African traditional institutions of governance and the introduction of autocratic rule throughout the continent. The colonialists entirely monopolised political power, denying the colonised an opportunity to participate in politics and, therefore, governance of their own countries. A culture of intolerance and suppression became predominant in African countries. This formed the basis of African agitation for independence.

In the same vein, explaining the negative role that the colonisers played in Africa while satisfying their selfish needs, Amuka (2000:4) states: "This is to imply that the European

coloniser's agenda excluded nation building: the colonial mission was to plunder the continent's human and natural resources, not to build long-lasting and stable nations". Speaking of the consequences of colonialism and imperialism, and myths to be exorcised in Africa, Pobee (1993:268) observes:

First, the assertion that Africans are incapable of democracy is a myth to be abandoned. ... The persisting idea that one-party states and dictatorships derive from African traditional political systems is a definite misreading of history. Even chiefs in traditional societies were accountable to their peoples. Those who tried to be unaccountable to their people were either destooled or even poisoned off.

To conclude on the negative systematic and persistent activities of the colonial powers in order to accomplish cultural and political destruction and economic underdevelopment, Gordon (2002:10-11) asserts:

The colonial state was not for nation-building but for the fragmentation of people. With no consideration for geography, ethnicity, or environment, colonial powers set up clearly defined state boundaries in place of the existing innumerable lineage and clan groups, city-states, kingdoms, and empires. ... The creation of such boundaries has proven to be an obstacle in acquiring internal consensus in regards to nation-building. ... Such fragmentation of the African peoples has severely hampered nation-state building in Africa. Thus, the challenge today for many leaders in Africa is to develop an agenda that promotes nation-state development by fostering national cohesion despite the rivalries and historical forces of separation.

To ensure its control over the extraction of resources, the colonial state established an authoritarian bureaucracy that was enforced by its colonial army and police. Working closely with the chiefs, the court messengers, the tax collectors, labor conscriptors, and the colonial courts, these agencies oppressed the African masses. Incidents of rape, extortions, murder, and other forms of abuse perpetrated by them were commonplace during the colonial period. The army's and police's brutal activities on behalf of the colonial state contributed not only to the way they came to perceive themselves in both postcolonial Africa and in contemporary periods.

Such insights are intended to refute allegations that Africans were without civilisation, political organisation and leadership when the colonisers arrived. It is also to give back self-confidence to Africans while empowering them against persistent western lies and misleading actions.

5.5.4.4 Of economic and social destruction

The subsection by showing the misdeeds of the colonial powers in Africa, helps Africans to see the link between the behaviours and actions of the colonisers and those of the post-colonial African leaders to discourage continual trust in the former western masters and start working by themselves for the transformation of their communities rather than waiting for foreigners to deliver them. Speaking of the way colonialism undertook strategies in order to undermine African cultural values and underdevelop colonies, Rodney (1982:234) reports that in recent times, economists have been recognising in colonial and post-colonial Africa a pattern that has been termed *growth without development*. It means that goods and services of a certain type are on the increase. There may be more rubber and coffee exported, there may be more cars imported with the proceeds, and there may be more gasoline stations built to service the cars. But the profit goes abroad, and the economy becomes more and more a dependency of a metropole. There was no economic integration, or any provision for making the economy self-sustained and geared to its own goals in African colony. Therefore, there was growth of the so-called enclave import-export sector, but the only things which developed were dependency and underdevelopment. Then, speaking of how Africans were enticed into a state of psychic and economic dependency, the same Rodney observes:

The ridiculous situation arose by which European trading firms, mining companies, shipping lines, banks, insurance houses, and plantations all exploited Africa and at the same time caused Africans to feel that without those capitalist services no money or European goods would be forthcoming, and therefore, Africa was in debt to its exploiters.

The factor of dependency made its impact felt in every aspect of the life of the colonies, and it can be regarded as the growing vice among the negative social, political, and economic consequences of colonialism in African being primarily responsible for the *perpetuation* of the colonial relationship into the epoch that is called neo-colonialism (:235-236).

As he is describing destructive activities against Africans during colonial and post-colonial time, Abdulai (2001:64-65) reports that very little was realised during the colonial period in terms of investments in education, infrastructure, industry, political

institutions and the fostering of a political culture. Colonisers destroyed even the modest investments made in infrastructure to support the colonial administration in Africa in anger and rage when they were forced to leave at independence. Later on he gave concrete examples, saying, for example, when Guinea casted(sic) her “No” vote against joining the French “Community,” the French pulled out of the country taking with them everything they could and destroying what they could not. Telephones were ripped from walls; they also burned all their administrative records, hospital supplies and light bulbs. Ghana was the country, which quickly went to the aid of Guinea in an act of pan-African unity. It lent Guinea L10 million (at that time, one Ghanaian pound was equal in value to one pound sterling) without interest or repayment schedule. In Guinea-Bissau, the story was the same. After years of colonial rule, the legacy of the Portuguese colonial masters was 14 university graduates, an illiteracy rate of 97 per cent with only 265 miles of motorable roads, an area of the size of New Jersey. When they were finally forced to leave Guinea-Bissau, they destroyed what they could, which included the national archives. A final example is that of Mozambique. At independence, its Portuguese colonial masters took whatever they could with them. What they could not they destroyed (Abdulai 2001:65).

To explain how colonial powers’ attitudes and actions have contributed to much of the political, social, economic misdeeds and psycho-social misbehaviours, which are totally *anti-ubuntu* in many of the Africans and leaders in today’s Africa, Gordon (2002:11-12) observes that the colonial state embarked on the strategy of “divide and rule” rather than unification as a means of ensuring its political hegemony. Colonialism led to the underdevelopment of Africa in some way despite educational and medical benefits. There was unequal development in the political, economical, and social levels of African states. The agents of colonialism who carried out their tasks effectively were rewarded. For example, the chiefs who collaborated with the controlling powers received the advantages of wealth, political power, and privileges. They generally had the first opportunity to educate their children thereby ensuring the perpetuation of their dynasties. In essence, the colonial experience endured by Africa was one of an extremely violent, undemocratic state; a parasitic and repressive military structure; inefficient and corrupt bureaucracy; spatial distortion and disarticulation; politicisation of social and cultural

differences; and a general legacy of lack of consultation and insensitivity; political arrogance; disrespect for cultural or traditional institution; suppression of African initiatives and the imposition of a foreign world view, taste and value.

Above the fact that Africans had been removed from power, extremely exploited and psychologically frustrated, Walter Rodney puts forth aspects of excessive economic frustration in their own land, a situation which has contributed more to their underdevelopment up to now. He then uses examples from parts of the continent, explaining, for instance, that the European colonialists much preferred to encourage the minorities rather than see Africans build themselves up. For instance, in West Africa the businessmen from Sierra Leone were discouraged both in their own colony and in other British possessions where they chose to settle. In East Africa, there was hope among Ugandans, in particular, that they might acquire cotton machines and perform some capitalist functions connected with cotton growing and other activities. However, when in 1920 a Development Commission was appointed to promote commerce and industry, it favoured firstly Europeans and then Indians. Africans were prohibited by legislation from owning machines.

By its very nature, colonialism was prejudiced against the establishment of industries in Africa, outside of agriculture and the extractive spheres of mining and timber felling. Whenever internal forces seemed to push in the direction of African industrialisation, they were deliberately blocked by the colonial governments acting on behalf of the metropolitan industrialists. Groundnut-oil mills were set up in Senegal in 1927 and began exports to France. They were soon placed under restrictions because of protests of oil-millers in France. Similarly, in Nigeria, the oil mills set up by Lebanese were discouraged. The oil was still sent to Europe as a raw material for industry, but European industrialists did not then welcome even at a single stage of processing groundnuts into oil on African soil.

The colonisation of Africa lasted for just over seventy years in most parts of the continent. Yet, it was precisely in those years that in other parts of the world the rate of change was greater than ever before. As has been illustrated, capitalist countries revolutionised their technology to enter the nuclear age. Meanwhile, socialism was inaugurated, lifting semi-feudal semi-capitalist Russia to a level of sustained economic

growth higher than that ever experienced in a capitalist country. Socialism did the same for China and North Korea – guaranteeing the well-being and independence of the state as well as reorganising the integral social arrangements in a far more just manner than ever before (Rodney 1982:216-224).

Contrary to Gordon and Rodney's reports on colonialism, Ramasamy's findings from the interviews he conducted with church leaders present quite different results. He found that most church leaders, today, generally have a positive appreciation of the colonisation of Africa. He thus reports, for example, that 80% believed that colonisation had been beneficial to Africa while 77% maintained that the continent would have remained backward scientifically and technologically without colonisation (Ramasamy 2004:128-129). The difference of views on the matter between the two scholars and these church leaders can be simply explained by their different backgrounds; Gordon being a professor of History and Rodney as an Africanist historian, they paid more careful attention to their conclusions than church leaders, who sometimes neglect their own history. The possible question in this regard is how can church leaders, who do not know the truth about the real impact of colonisation on the African people, be of effective help for their transformation. Two suggestions can be made here: the first is that the training programmes of African church leaders may include important elements on the past of Africa and the way this past can be used for the four-dimensional transformation of people and the socio-political transformation of their communities. The second is that these church leaders need to educate themselves on these important matters and on the way to use them for spiritual and socio-political transformation of their communities.

At this stage Gordon's words that the evidence in his book reveals that the violent, exploitative, domineering impact of colonialism wreaked havoc on the African continent are relevant at least partially. That in less than a century of full-scale implementation, this alien system replaced democracy – customary leadership by the people – with an ideology and practice of governance by "might," or the commonly accepted Western philosophy of "survival of the strongest." For centuries, Africans had lived by the accepted customs and traditions of "communalism" – the individual was nothing apart from the group. The emergent neo-colonial African leaders, instead, became wealthy through the use of the inherited colonial strategies and tactics of

duplicity and exploitation to enrich themselves at the expense of the masses. In essence, they adopted a philosophy of “the group is nothing – individual gain is everything.” Sadly, this legacy of colonialism is still the driving force among many African leaders today (Gordon 2002:24).

Discussing the idea that colonial powers did much better for the colonies than what African leaders did for their people three decades of independence later, Rodney disputes this idea arguing that the combination of being oppressed, being exploited, and being disregarded is best illustrated by the pattern of the economic infrastructure of African colonies: notably, their roads and railways. Means of communication were not constructed in the colonial period so that Africans could visit their friends. More importantly still, they were not laid down to facilitate internal trade in African commodities. There were no roads connecting different colonies and different parts of the same colony in a manner that made sense with regard to Africa’s needs and development. All roads and railways led down to the sea. They were built to extract gold or manganese or coffee or cotton. They were built to make business possible for the timber companies, trading companies, and agricultural concession firms, and for the white labour to take the lion’s share in getting things done. With the minimum investment of capital, the colonial powers could mobilise thousands upon thousands of workers. Salaries were paid to the police officers and officials, and labour came into existence because of the colonial laws, the threat of force, and the use of force. For instance, the building of railways: in Europe and America, railway building required huge inputs of capital. Great wage bills were incurred during construction, and added bonus payments were made to workers to get the job done as quickly as possible. In most parts of Africa, the Europeans who wanted to see a railroad built offered lashes as the ordinary wage and more lashes for extra effort (Rodney 1982:209). After these colonial masters comes the time for many African leaders to deny their civil servants and corporate workers due salary for own selfish interests.

However, discussing whether the political, economic and social backwardness of Africa came from slave trade, European colonisation, or from the Cold-War or from neo-colonialism, F.W. Okumu gave no definitive answer; he therefore observes:

Those who see the continent as the victim of external forces must accept that parts of Asia, too, were subject to rapacious colonialists and have, within a generation after independence, established viable states and successful economies. Even where they fail, Asian countries do not blame their past imperial masters (Okumu 2002:66).

This answer sounds much more helpful than wasting the precious time condemning outside forces instead of looking for a really effective solution to the problem of the continent. It is therefore essential for Africans to free themselves from the negative past and start working hard for their better future. Moreover, some of the facilities that were established during colonial time, which colonisers could not destroy or take away, they left them behind them; former colonies could just make profitable use of them; unfortunately, they did not. Such was the case of roads, railways, schools and hospitals, for example, which were built in Congo but which were later neglected and ultimately lost by the post-colonial leaders.

5.5.4.5 Of pre-colonial education

This subsection intends to show that colonisation did not introduce education to Africa, but did indeed introduce a different education system to the African people. This particular point of pre-colonial education is essential for many, especially, Africans, think that there existed no education in Africa. This particular situation has a very negative impact on their self-esteem and the value of their own culture to the extent that they value other people and their cultures more than themselves and their own culture. Education is crucial in any type of society for the preservation of the lives of its members and the maintenance of the social structure.

Under certain circumstances, education also promotes social change and socio-political transformation. The greater portion of the pre-colonial education in Africa was informal, being acquired by the young from the example and behaviour of elders in society. Under normal circumstances, education grew out of the environment; the learning process being directly related to the pattern of work in the society. Much concerning pre-colonial education has already been discussed earlier in 4.4; so, I would just like to indicate that education was both informal and formal to some extent. In some

parts of the continent, the programme covered the primary education, secondary education and tertiary education (Rodney 1982:238-240).

As it will be detailed in the chapter 6, aware of the bad consequences of the inconsiderate replacement of the pre-colonial education by the colonial education, some African institutions as TMAILI have designed remedial programmes. Such programmes try to arm current and future African leaders with this wealth of information to free them from an age-old alienation and decolonise their mind in order to be able to value their past, their culture and themselves to the right measure. These programmes basically follow the philosophy of African Renaissance. Speaking of the role of African Renaissance, Diop (1999:5-6) states: “Now, after political liberation the priority is to decolonise the mind, in so far as any renaissance process first starts with a degree of cultural awakening”. I support such initiatives because a lot of black Africans do not believe that Blacks had any significant past, consequently Blacks are not capable of any good; these included pastors and many other highly educated black people (Banza 2003:42).

5.5.4.5.1 Of colonial education

After appreciating the positive role played by the secondary education in Senegal, Senghor (1988:22) explains that the most serious defect of this education was the attempt to uproot Africans from the local values: trying to convince them that their culture was worthless and that French culture was more important than Africans’. And the priests who were in charge of those schools worsened the situation by trying to cultivate an inferiority complex in the minds of the learners. They often repeated that the aim of secondary education was to make Africans “*assimilés*” but not to convert them into Whites. Speaking of the alienation and underdeveloping nature of the Africans of this period, Rodney (1982:248-252) remarks that during the colonial epoch and afterwards, a criticism was justly levelled at the colonial educational system for failing to produce more secondary school pupils and university graduates. And yet, it can be said that among those who had the most education were to be found the most alienated Africans on the continent. It followed that those who were Europeanised were to that extent de-

Africanised, as a consequence of the colonial education and the general atmosphere of colonial life. Later on, describing the nature and consequence of this education on the modern African education, Mbigi (2005:139) states: “Modern African education has its roots in colonialism, whose agenda was to exploit Africa, dehumanise its people and their culture, and to destroy the positive self-image and self-confidence of the African people.” The Europeanising was a major objective of the colonial education. For instance, in 1935, a team of British educationalists visiting French Africa, admitted with a mixture of jealousy and admiration that France had succeeded in creating an elite of Africans in the image of Frenchmen – an elite that was helping to perpetuate French colonial rule. To a greater or lesser extent, all colonial powers produced similar cadres to manage and buttress their colonial empires in Africa and elsewhere. Even the church was such involved in colonising activities that Rodney (1982:252) commenting on its work, observes:

The role of the Christian church in the educational process obviously needs special attention. The Christian missionaries were as much part of the colonizing forces as were the explorers, traders, and soldiers. There may be room for arguing whether in a given colony the missionaries brought the other colonialist forces or vice versa, but there is no doubting the fact that missionaries were agents of colonialism in the practical sense, whether or not they saw themselves in that light. The imperialist adventurer Sir Henry Johnston disliked missionaries, but he conceded in praise of them that “each mission station is an exercise in colonisation.

Reinforcing the point of this negative work the colonisers did during their official colonial time, especially, in the field of education, Kagwanja (2000:27) has this to say:

Africa inherited from colonialism a weaker higher education system than Asia or Latin America. Only a handful of former British colonies inherited colleges. The whole of East Africa, for instance, had a single university at independence – Makerere University – which was belatedly established in 1949. There was not a single university in French territories apart from two emerging institutions in Zaire. The scenario bordered on the obscene in Lusophone territories. Feudal Portugal could not afford the luxury of establishing higher education infrastructure.

He consequently concludes that “Africa's intellectual community was equally small at independence. In 1958, the total enrolment in African universities was only 10,000, and 65 per cent of whom were in Ghana and Nigeria (:27)”. Explaining later the main reason why these higher education institutions were established, he expands saying that “At independence, the mission and purpose of higher education were narrowed to suit the nationalist and development logic (and its modernisation variant) that dominated the policy thinking of the political elite” (:27).

The above story of African people's poor higher education and wrongly-suited educational system to meet African community needs, partially explicates some of cultural, economic and socio-political difficulties African people are experiencing till now. Wrongly educated African elite could not understand adequately the real problems of their people to be able to solve them in an effective way. Consequently, they could not be able to plan for the development of the suitable current and/ future leadership of their community either.

5.5.4.5.2 Of positive aspects of colonialism

Though colonialism and most Westerners' actions in Africa are blamed for present underdevelopment and corrupt and undemocratic leadership in the continent, however, it is also true that some of the colonisers' activities should have had a positive impact. In this regard Rodney (1982:238) has the following to say:

In the light of the prevailing balance-sheet concept of what colonial rule was about, it still remains to take note of European innovations in Africa such as modern medicine, clinical surgery, and immunization. It would be absurd to deny that these were objectively positive features, however limited they were quantitatively. However, they have to be weighed against the numerous setbacks received by Africa in all spheres due to colonialism as well as against the contributions Africa made to Europe.

Accordingly, after examining various criticisms and weaknesses of colonial education in Africa, Ramasamy (2004:101) points out to some positive points about that education. He therefore observes that while destroying, supposedly, the precious African values this education also opened the African to a world of science and technology, and of various

learning much wider than what was known to the African up to that time. It must also be understood that individual thinking and action as well as communal thought and action have their place in today's context. If everybody learns only how to think like everybody in everything, there is little room for independent thinking; it can lead to slavish thinking and action. Consequently, scientific development, creativity, transformation can easily suffer from it.

5.5.5 Implications of African Renaissance on Congolese leadership

This subsection limits itself to some implications on two former political leaders of the Congo who expressed their resistance to the former colonisers in some ways and on a current political opponent of the ruling party in the country. As already specified in the introduction to 2.7.2, this dissertation intends to appreciate the contributions of the organisations involved in leadership development and not to evaluate the qualities of the leadership.

On considering some glorious aspects of the past cultural, social, political and economic life of Africa as taught by African Renaissance philosophy and the somewhat gloomy present socio-political positioning and conditions of the continent Congolese political leaders have adopted various hostile attitudes and actions. These attitudes and actions affected local religious institutions and foreign political and commercial powers. President Mobutu adopted the philosophy of Authenticity whereby people of his country were supposed to reject foreign cultural values and adopt the values which were deemed traditionally Zairean ones. People were also compelled to reject all the so-called Christian names and the like to a certain extent. His administration equally dispossessed foreigners of their riches giving those to his national cronies. His attack on the Catholic Church, for instance, was also in this same perspective. Along the same lines Ekakhoi (2009:269-270) has the following to say:

Another battle between the regime and the Roman Catholic Church ensued with regards to the concept of 'authenticity', which the Catholic Church regarded as a threat to Christianity. As said earlier, the concept of authenticity led to the banning of Christian names. For instance, Joseph Desiré Mobutu became Mobutu Sese Seko Kuku Ngbendu Waza Banga. The regime viewed [270] authenticity as

a means of releasing Zaireans from mental colonization as well as cultural disalienation.

Laurent Desiré Kabila who took power by force from Joseph Desiré Mobutu, allegedly assisted by western powers (Renton, Seddon and Zeilig 2007:179-180), started distancing himself ideologically and politically from the western influence and cooperation because he also considered them to have played many destructive roles in the Congo in the past. He later began to turn to his friends from Asia, thus endangering his life.

Etienne Tshisekedi has been a Congolese opposition leader for decades; he fought for political freedom and social justice during Mobutu's regime. He did the same during Laurent D. Kabila's term and still continues to do the same under the current administration. Due to African Renaissance tenets that Africans should not rely on former colonising powers for political and socio-economic freedom and advancement, seemingly, he has been admonishing his people to collaborate for the common good, but not to bank on foreign powers in these matters.

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has afforded the opportunity to discuss the social, economic, political and public-relation situation in Africa. It has also analysed the socio-economic and political prevailing climate on the continent to see whether there is a need for African renaissance. The concepts of renaissance and African Renaissance; the need for and the origin and definition of African Renaissance have thus been studied. African Renaissance has been noted to have been generally inspired and informed by the history of Africa which has also motivated its existence. The economic, social and political gloomy situation of HIV/AIDS, poverty and the poor leadership of the twenty-first Africa has equally been briefly explored to the conclusion that the need for African Renaissance and a transformational leadership is dire for the continent.

The chapter has also depicted a short socio-political and cultural image of the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Africa. The study has equally considered different western influences that have allegedly impacted negatively on the traditional ways Africans used to prepare and develop their ethical and servant leadership in the

community. Wider educational programmes introduced by the western powers that have also opened most educated Africans to outside cultures and international affairs have been noted as positives of the West to Africa. The following chapter analyses the two African organisations which are working for the development of a socio-political leadership that can resolve the problem of a rife socio-political crisis which is translated into massive poverty and suffering of many Africans.

CHAPTER SIX

MISSIOLOGICAL ANALYSIS OF THE CONTRIBUTIONS OF OPERAF AND TMALI

6.1 Introduction

The fifth subsidiary research question which reads: “What are the contributions of Operaf and TMALI to the development of political leaders in Africa?” is answered here. As the missiological praxis is concerned, this chapter analyses the missiological contributions of two organisations working on the development of leadership for socio-political transformation; it is then about the interpretation of their traditions and the way they plan and strategise to reach their objectives. Therefore, the chapter discusses the projects, activities and contributions of two African organisations that are involved in leadership development in the continent. The main organisation primarily analysed in this chapter is African Operation (Operaf), which has been involved in leadership development as a church organisation for more than a decade. Next to Operaf⁸ comes a secondary organisation, i.e., the Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute, which is an academic institution. These organisations are intentionally African initiatives to solve a socio-political problem of poor leadership in the continent. Their visions and methods are analysed to appreciate their contributions as institutions designed to develop a leadership for socio-political transformation in the continent. Given that leadership development is a responsibility for individual leaders such as parents and institutions such as churches and schools (Maxwell 2007:1130), these contributions present us with essential elements of leadership development that can be examined critically and used where necessary.

The analysis of the activities and contributions of these organisations has been done according to their different internal organisational and operational structures. The same organisational and operational differences have been subject to the five of the seven dimensions of the Praxis Circle and to Leadership Theories as detailed in 2.5 and 2.7, mainly for logical analytical consistency. The only dimensions of Agency, Contextual

⁸ Operaf has been so widely used because the organization developed first and best in African French-speaking countries. Operaf is then the short form of *Opération Africaine*, which is, in turn, the French term or translation of African Operation.

Understanding, Tradition Interpretation, Strategic Planning for Action and Reflexivity have been used for more clarity in analysis and for more focus in presentation. The description of these elements has also been followed by a relevant assessment to see their value for the purpose of this study. The main sections of the chapter are then African Operation and Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute. The subsections have been organised on the basis of the structures of the organisations. The information on these structures was gleaned from the Websites of the organisations, from the documents I got from their offices and from interviews I had with the leaders of the organisations as indicated in 1.6.3, especially in 1.6.3.4.

6.2 African Operation

As previously indicated in 1.2, African Operation (Operaf) is a Christian organisation which is especially involved in the mission of developing political leadership for socio-political transformation in Africa.

6.2.1 *Agency*

This dimension of the praxis allows me to identify different role players; therefore the involved agents can be identified as well as their relations to the community where they have been “inserted” (Kritzinger 2010:10). Analysing the history of the organisation and its substructures as detailed in 6.2.1.2, and partnership has helped to grasp who are the main agents of the leadership development and the expansion of Operaf, and how they have been functioning to date.

As indicated in 1.2, African Operation is a church organisation that focuses on the development of a political leadership for the socio-political transformation of Africa. Operaf is generally used as an acronym for African Operation, especially, on different materials of the organisation such as manuals and other literature. Its history, structures, vision, mission, objective, strategies, methodology, partnership and achievements are analysed to have clear understanding of the contributions of the organisation. These points have been subsequently assessed according to the relative contributing values. The main source of my information at this level is Operaf’s own materials and interviews with

the leaders of the organisation. Essential elements of agency are uncovered by looking at the following:

6.2.1.1 History

Historically, the vision of Operaf had been building up in the heart of Rev. Emmanuel Tshilenga since 1993. That time Rev. Tshilenga was still doing his doctoral studies in Missiology at the University of Pretoria. Then, he set up to work for the materialisation of the vision. So, as early as 1993 the sensitising of Christians, churches, Christian organisations in South Africa was carried out through consultations and seminars. In 1996 the work of sensitising pastors from West African countries was done in Abidjan, Ivory Coast. The vision was shared at GCOWE (Global Consultation on World Evangelisation) with global church leaders who attended the Consultation in Pretoria, South Africa in 1997. African Operation became formally organised with the necessary structures in 1998 (Banza 2003:24). In 1999 Rev. Tshilenga convened a month-long workshop on the vision with pastors from different African countries in Pretoria. Then, in October the same year, he travelled abroad to sensitise African Christians in the Diaspora in England, Belgium, and USA. In 2000, he organised a series of conferences and debates on leadership role in the capital cities of African countries: Kinshasa, DR Congo; Brazzaville, Republic of the Congo; Yaoundé, Cameroon; Libreville, Gabon and Bangui, The Central African Republic. All these activities resulted in establishing the work of Operaf in different African countries. In 2001 he travelled to Europe and America, especially, to France, Belgium, Russia and USA. And then, Operaf groups were born in Russia. In 2002 he organised a second workshop for pastors from different African countries in Pretoria. In 2005 he had two workshops in DR Congo: one for lawyers and the other for the construction engineers (Operaf 2008:2). In October 2010 a two-week conference was convened in Pretoria, South Africa with 50 church leaders from 12 African countries.

It is also important to indicate that the organisation had its earlier developments from the International Church of Pretoria up to 2002, when it started operating almost exclusively out of the city and of South Africa as a vision orientation change from

International Churches⁹ to a “Special Ministry” for leaders in cities or towns. This church is my local church where I have been part of the leadership since 1996. As consequence of this development of the vision Operaf counts two headquarters¹⁰.

6.2.1.2 Operational Structures, Supervision Structures and Partnership

Indeed, *Operational structures* are field structures which carry out the actual operations needed to reach leadership development on a daily basis. They deal with the execution of the work on ground. The organisation counts five operational substructures that function together to secure effective and mature result (Operaf 2008:2-3). They encompass such substructures as Intercession, Guidance, Domain Leadership, Facilitation, Political Pastorate.

Supervision structures are responsible for the maintenance of the vision, stimulation of the action and supervision of the functioning of the movement. The structures include at the international level, the international committee and the international president and at the regional and national levels a regional and a national committee (Operaf 2008:2).

Partners of African Operation form a very important part of this study, for without them the organisation could hardly survive and work; basically the organisation works thanks to the partnership of the local church workers and their contribution in cities or towns. The partnership of the global church, and especially, that of the African churches with which it operates closely affords the organisation the necessary substance for effective survival (Operaf (2009a:7-8).

6.2.1.2.1 Intercession

This substructure invites and recruits Christians that can pray for leaders. Their role consists in asking God to induce all the influential people, may it be politicians, military

⁹ These are urban churches which Rev. Emmanue Tshilenga intended to plant for the training and development of African elites and leaders.

¹⁰ Old headquarters of Operaf, which are rarely used now, lie at 173, Bosman Street; 306, Sediba House, Pretoria Central, South Africa. The new and most used physical address is 495, Ontdekkers Road; 1716, Florida Hills, Johannesburg, South Africa.

leaders, intellectual elites, business executives, and the like, to discover the will of God for Africa so as to work with him for the fulfilment of this will for the continent (Operaf 2008:3). These intercessors normally pray following requests presented to them by Operaf National Coordination; the coordination sometimes appoints some of them for follow-up intercession to leaders or for other specific events (National Coordination of Operaf DR Congo 2010). Intercession is also done by guides as indicated just below in 6.2.1.2.2.

6.2.1.2.2 Guidance

This substructure recruits as guides mature and strong Christians that can have an easy access to leaders of their nations in order to serve as their spiritual partners. Normally, these need to be disinterested people that believe that leading people of a community or a nation can also change to become good Christians who can serve their community/nation honestly and holistically. Their mission is especially to do the first steps in the Lord with leaders. The first steps consist mainly in pre-evangelism, evangelism and post-evangelism. Pre-evangelism consists first of all in praying for a specific leader; preferably, the one somebody wishes to take charge of spiritually and whom s/he can have access to. A guide prays a lot of times before considering meeting and talking to the leader in question (Operaf 2008:3).

Evangelism consists in presenting the gospel to the leader in case s/he is not a committed Christian. This can be done directly to give the person the opportunity to accept or to reject Jesus as personal saviour. Evangelism can also be done indirectly through a leaflet, a book, a video, an audio cassette, or by inviting a leader to an evangelism meeting. Post-evangelism consists in helping a new convert to grow up spiritually to maturity through a spiritual accompaniment for as long as it can take (:4).

Guides need to meet the following requirements to qualify for selection: being committed Christians; being trustworthy; being punctual and observe the time; having a good testimony in the community; being able to share one's faith with other people; being disinterested and believing that every human being can change (:4).

6.2.1.2.3 Facilitation

A facilitation is composed of facilitators or people charged with the business of facilitating part of the work of leadership development. A facilitator is especially a Christian mature enough to conduct an intellectual debate, to lead a home cell or a prayer meeting in the office or home of a leader. Requirements for the selection of facilitators are: being mature and strong Christian; being able to lead a cell group; taking both God and people seriously; keeping the promises made and observing the commitments; being punctual and respecting appointments; being honest; having a servant's heart; being teachable; being viable; being disinterested; being respectful and respectable and believing that God can transform a community through transformed people (Operaf 2008:4).

6.2.1.2.4 Domain leadership

A domain leadership recruits and encompasses mature Christians from diverse domains of knowledge, capable of conducting the meeting of their domains. Such domains as Legal Domain (lawyers, barristers, magistrates); Construction Domain (engineers, builders, architects); Agriculture Domain (agronomists,); Medical Domain (doctors, nurses), are organised to meet regularly. Domain leaders have as mission to organise and lead a section of African Operation within their domain, planning and calling meetings, conferences or debates, seminars and taking concrete actions for the good of the section. They have to choose or decide upon the topics of conferences or debates and then, invite qualified speakers. The debates generally deal with professional challenges that domain members face on a daily basis in order to assist and provide them with solutions based on biblical wisdom so that they can stand strong individually and collectively. Such activities and consultations can be planned and executed both for local and continental needs. Spiritual, moral, material or financial support is highly encouraged within a domain for proper functioning.

Requirements for the selection of domain leaders are: being mature and strong Christians; being part of the domain; having strong sense of responsibility; keeping promises done and observing commitment taken; believing that God can use their

domains for the advancement of his kingdom; having a good sense of initiative and having a proven sense of leadership (Operaf 2008:5).

6.2.1.2.5 Political pastorate

A political pastorate is a body of pastors called to devote some of their time in order to minister to socio-political leaders. Their role consists in doing spiritual accompaniment, Bible studies with and deliverance prayers of these leaders (:6).

The requirements for one to be selected for the service are as follows: being called by God to minister to elites and leaders; being theologically trained and an ordained pastor; being able to discuss with leaders in a coherent and logical way; being disinterested and not serve for personal material gains from leaders; being respected and having a good testimony in the country; having a team spirit; being discreet; proving able to collaborate with the Regional Supervisor and National Coordinator.

6.2.1.2.6 International Committee and International President

The International Committee has the charge of stimulating the action and maintaining the vision. It normally consists of committed Christians from different nationalities (:2). At this level only the president has been closely examined because of his visible and active involvement in the work of leadership development. The International Committee is made up of international representatives who mainly play administrative and not well-defined roles.

The International President assumes the supervision at the international level, facilitating thus international meetings and exchanges within different domains and countries at the international level (Operaf 2008:2). The president is responsible for interviewing, selecting and appointing such important workers of the organisation as coordinators and political pastorate members. He also sets selection criteria and the main of training programmes.

6.2.1.2.7 Regional Committee

At the regional level, the Regional Committee and regional supervision assume the supervision to allow proper functioning at the level of the region (Operaf 2008:2).

6.2.1.2.8 National Committee

At the national level, the National Committee assumes supervision and proper functioning of the organisation nationally. Then, come appropriate substructures at the provincial, district, city and town levels (Operaf 2008:2).

6.2.1.2.9 Local partnership in DR Congo

Traditionally, to settle in a country Operaf goes through a process of four phases: Contact Phase, Foundation Phase, Operational Phase and Establishment Phase.

During the Contact Phase, the International President (I.P.) of Operaf, Dr. Tshilenga contacted the church leaders of DR Congo to share the vision with them (Operaf 2008:7). Then, he selected the provisional leadership of Operaf for the country and the national coordinator, who were subsequently confirmed in their responsibility later on. This was in 2001 (National Coordination of Operaf DR Congo 2010).

The Foundation Phase where the first training was offered to market the vision and increase the number of people who know it and get ready the leaders for this country was in July 1999. The five members of the leadership were invited to Pretoria, South Africa for a month-long training. These local leaders of the Operaf team started to propagate the vision in the capital city of DR Congo. Then, the steps were taken to obtain the official accreditation for the organisation. The accreditation was thus secured on 28 May 2004 (National Coordination of Operaf DR Congo 2010).

At the level of Operational Phase where the organisation was ready for service the country had already its full time national coordinator. At least three Bible study cells for local leaders were already operational in 2000. The same year a conference on leadership role was held in Kinshasa (Operaf 2008:2).

During Establishment Phase where the organisation is firmly established, there already were confirmed the national coordinator and board of directors. The board was made up of five members including its Head. The organisation was already serving at least 150 leaders, comprised of political leaders, economic operators and elites of the country. The local leadership counted by then 5 cells, 20 guides, 5 facilitators, 2 domain leaders and a pastor working for the political pastorate, and 60 intercessors were already at work (Operaf 2008:7-8).

6.2.1.2.10 Global partnership

African Operation raises a global partnership in Africa and out of the continent in order to make their service to the socio-political leadership more successful. In Africa this partnership is basically in the form of African church and domain leaders who can partner and collaborate with their colleagues from other African countries in the matter of exchanging information, programmes, ministry materials and conference speakers.

Because of the shortage of funds, a limited number of national coordinators have a financial support. This support generally comes from partners from overseas (Tshilenga 2010). There also exists an overseas partnership in the matter of teachings. Foreign speakers such as John C Maxwell from America often come to the African continent to teach on leadership, bringing in appropriate equipment and materials free of charge (National Coordination of Operaf DR Congo 2010).

6.2.1.2.11 Assessing Supervision and Operational Structures, and Partnership

These structures have played a very important role in exposing different organs and especially, agents the organisation has been using towards the attainment of leadership development. They have equally helped to see how the different agents or workers of the organisation are working. However, it can be indicated that some of the selection requirements can raise suspicions or doubts about their efficacy. It is not clear how the organisation can easily come to the conclusion that a person has a strong sense of responsibility or is a strong and mature Christian and another is not, for example, to be a domain leader or not. This lack of clear and reliable mechanisms remains a challenge that

overshadows effective selection of the members of guidance as well as those of the political pastorate as seen earlier.

Intercessors are part of the transformation agents of Operaf according to Operaf (2008:3), which is partly consonant with the biblical passages of Psalm 72:1-4 and 1 Timothy 2:1-4. These scriptures, among others strongly, showcase intercession as more recommendable for leadership development and socio-political transformation (than any well elaborated programmes) as detailed later in 8.2. This prayer becomes even more recommendable when taking into consideration the relation between the African poor political leadership and multiple socio-political abuses committed in the continent with satanic influences as indicated by Renou (2001:421-422). Riley (1995:19) explains intercession as a continual activity that goes along with all other activities of leadership development; it precedes any planned ministry activity such as evangelism, goes along with it and goes on after the activity. Partially, as mentioned in 1 Timothy 2 and Psalm 72, above all, intercession is also a very important tool for world evangelisation (Mostert 1997:31, 104) which needs to be used very strategically based on detailed field information and following consequent steps in order to reach well-defined objectives. However, Operaf literature shows no strategic systematisation of operations. Part of such intercession systematisation will consist in applying transformational socio-political intercession which transcends people's salvation through faith in Jesus and believing in the gospel as a message from God which they should observe, to seek people's personal transformational investment into the lives of other individuals, especially, lives of the underdogs and marginalised of the community and that of their communities at large. Practically, this intercession seeks not only spiritual or religious and intellectual conversion, but also moral and socio-political conversion as detailed in 8.3. Such intercession also remains practically aware of the strong link between leadership development and spiritual powers to seriously seek God's powerful manifestation through signs, wonders and miracles to neutralise evil powers (Acts 13:6-12) and bring leaders into meaningful touch with God as seen in Acts 4:23-31 and advised by (Miller 1969:57, 176).

Personal intercessors are people who pray for specific individuals or leaders, especially, for church leaders for divine protection, direction and inspiration; they are

also people to whom the leaders equally report progress and problems, success and failure/difficulties on the mission field. But Operaf literature remains silent about the personal intercessors of their leaders, especially of the International President who plays a unique role in the organisation as already indicated. Insisting on the importance of personal intercessors for church leaders for better success, Wagner (1992:20-21) observes that John Maxwell, for example, as a church leader and leadership developer has raised an army of personal intercessors of at least 100 members who regularly pray for him. Peter Wagner himself counts 200 personal intercessors (Wagner 1997:294).

Operaf (2008:6-7) shows that the leaders of the organisation have clear understanding of team ministry and collaboration as concerns their partnership. They use local, national, regional and international, and both lay and clergy partnership to operate more efficiently. In this connection Bellagamba (1992:91) advises: “Ministering even to a small community in a rural area but more so in urban areas requires that team ministry act locally and think globally. The world today has become a small village”. Besides, the fact that people and communities are so close together thanks to technological advances of the time, societal sophistications of the moment, the urgency of holistic service to complex communities, and incapacity of an individual or a community to offer a satisfactory service to such communities render global partnership totally indispensable.

Stressing later the urgency of this global view because of the Christian faith that is basically global and of the necessity of being humble in community and respectful of good social and spiritual principles, Anthony Ballagamba argues that Christians live by a faith that is truly global in character. This faith allows Christians the world over to gain a sense of solidarity and common civic responsibility that is global in nature without becoming anti-national or anti-parochial. Faith in God’s eschatological purposes, coupled with humility within the creation restrains human desires for unlimited freedom and omnipotent power while at the same time liberating people to seek justice. More than others, Christians can respect and appreciate the highly diversified, multicultural beauty of this world. They can be driven to work for the kind of global harmony that is built on the protection rather than the destruction of the natural and human environment (:99).

As stated above, Operaf appears aware not only of this global consideration, but also of their own limitations to operate successfully without assistance of others, and

especially, of their obligation as Christians to work for the highest good of their world in order to influence socio-political arena thanks to God's abilities. Commenting on how and why Christians have to engage with the political world, Bellagamba (1992:99) concludes:

In short, Christians should engage in politics with a strong sense of both the limits of earthly power and the obligation to do justice to one another in the service of God. Confident of the creation's normative order, wary and realistic because of human sin, and thankfully hopeful because of God's redemptive work in history, Christians will take political life seriously as a public trust, a truly common wealth, while at the same time refraining from the absolutization of politics as means to inhuman ends.

Operaf leaders have also engaged in the venture of socio-political transformation through leadership development understanding the related challenges, though not clearly articulated; they thus rely on partners' contributions and on God's intervention to an extent.

6.2.2 Contextual understanding

This dimension of the mission praxis constitutes the second stage in the study of the organisation; it is appreciated through the vision, mission and objective of Operaf. The three points are very important as they can show how the organisation views and analyses the problem of leadership development and socio-political transformation (Kritzinger 2010:11). Relating this understanding to the analysis of social and physical context of Africa for a missiological purpose, Banda (2010:154-155) calls it *missiological understanding*. Though Operaf fails to point out or clearly describe the real issues requiring solutions in the community, these three elements remain important as they can implicitly suggest that there are problems through devising ways towards the solutions.

6.2.2.1 Vision

After analysing the African context and come to an understanding that there are socio-political problems that can be solved through the development of a transformational

leadership, Operaf has developed a vision of establishing the Kingdom of God in the African political, economic, scientific and leadership arenas (Operaf 2008:1; Operaf 2009c:1).

6.2.2.2 Mission

Following the results of the context analysis the mission of the organisation is focused specifically on the development of African leadership to make of them effective agents of the transformation of the continent (Operaf 2009a:1). The process of transforming leading African people begins with the proclamation of the gospel to African leaders, elites, managers, decision makers of different economic, cultural and socio-political organisations, inviting them to repentance in order to establish the Kingdom of God in their lives. Then, those who have received Jesus Christ in their lives as personal Saviour and Lord are trained and empowered, to be mobilised to work for the holistic good of their communities. Sometimes, when needed and in cooperation with local churches, an international church¹¹ is planted in their city or town for such people (Operaf 2008:1). One of such churches was supposedly the International Church of Pretoria (International Church s.a.:2-3; Banza 2003:22-24). The processes of transformation sometimes suffer from available role model trainers and the necessary funding for church workers, which limits the training to fewer sessions (Tshilenga 2010).

6.2.2.3 Objective

As for Operaf (2009a:1), the objective of the organisation is to establish a permanent *leadership ministry* in each and every African country in the sub-Saharan Africa by 2015. The *Leadership Ministry* as used here means a ministry focusing on the development of African leadership to make of them effective agents of transformation in the continent as already stated in the mission earlier.

¹¹ A church which regroups African prominent people for their spiritual accompaniment and empowerment.

6.2.2.4 Assessing the Vision, Mission & Objective

When examining the three, it is implicitly clear that there is a problem of poor leadership which leads to socio-political abuses in the African community. However, the failure of Operaf to specify the problems or causes of the poor leadership can have long term negative consequences in the process of leadership development. The vision as seen in 6.2.2.1, for example, cannot suggest a clear range of challenges to be met or problems that need solutions in leadership development.

Covering 48 countries of the sub-Saharan Africa with a ministry that intends to develop transformational African leaders in just five or six years, as proposed in (Operaf 2008:1), seems too ambitious, because it raises the question of the seriousness of the training of the church workers who would do the work and of the effectiveness of the work of transformation itself. Operaf (2009a:1) seems to overlook the specific type of leadership it intends to develop at this level and the qualities required of such a leadership. The feature underscored in connection with this objective is the number of countries to be covered up to 2015, i.e., 48, rather than the level of the transformation of people or of their communities. The objective is related neither to the degree or level of transformation of leaders nor to that of the community. Establishing objectives in the way that overshadows the main feature of the vision, which is the development of a leadership for transformation, renders the business of the evaluation of such work illusive if not misleading or impossible.

Operaf (2008:2 and 2009c:1) insist on evangelising African leaders, seemingly as the main way of transforming them for the needed socio-political changes as stated in the vision and mission of Operaf. Such transformation processes that are just restricted to a few sessions of gospel sharing and prayer often overlook cultural and historical causes of the poor and negligent leadership of this continent; they equally oversimplify the whole problem of poor African leadership to mere Christian faith; such working philosophy remains superficial and ineffective because it ignores important aspects of the problem as suggested in 2.5. For many of those poor political leaders, as it is shown in Sections 6.4.1; 8.2 are or claim to be Christians and/or church leaders; so, such situations need more efficacious and sustainable actions for true transformation. Furthermore,

researchers have suggested a serious consideration of the continuous hidden hand of the International Community that renders the development of transformational leadership difficult in Africa because of their interference and imposition of poor leaders (Mbeki 2011:2-4; Mutombo-Mukendi 2011:13-15). This hand needs denunciation and consequent empowering of the African people to ready them for informed resistance and transformational actions.

6.2.3 Interpretation of traditions

This dimension of the praxis circle deals with the ideology or source of authority of the organisation. The way the Bible is read and religious traditions interpreted as well as how people reflect theologically on their situation are equally understood here (Kritzinger 2010:11). As far as the sources of authority of Operaf are concerned, the Bible remains the main one; (Operaf 2008:10-11), for example, provides long lists of Bible characters, especially those with political connection, to be discussed in meetings for the development of the qualities, which African political leaders should emulate in their political life.

6.2.3.1 Assessing Operaf interpretation of traditions

Under this subsection, Operaf transformation programmes, selection of the workers and training programmes have been assessed to see how the organisation intends to contribute to the development of the needed leadership. Aspects of programmes have been analysed here rather than under the subsection Strategic Planning because of their close relation with the traditions of the organisation on which the programmes have been based. The same logic applies as concerns the aspect of selection and training of the workers of Operaf.

6.2.3.1.1 Operaf programme for transformation

It has been said earlier that the main book holding the traditions of Operaf is the Bible. At this level, I have considered evaluating how the traditions have been translated into

practical programmes for the transformation of leadership, selection of candidates and possible training materials. The topics as presented in Operaf programmes for the development of the needed leadership for socio-political transformation are very interesting for the purpose of this study as they point out biblical leaders with political involvement. The Bible characters have been simply named, without clearly indicating the exact qualities or precise objectives that have to be pursued in studying the character. The characters are just introduced as follows: Joseph, a state manager; Moses, elite and political leader; Solomon, a wise leader; Nehemiah, a nation builder and leader; David; Daniel; Gideon; Samson; Ethiopian Eunuch; Cornelius; Paul; Jesus; 18 kings in Chronicles. Apart from the Bible, Operaf also uses History, Leadership and Political Theology to train and empower either political leaders or political pastorate associates, or both of the leaders (Operaf 2008:10-11). The training manual seems very simplistic in content, but very difficult to use for unfamiliar user; it can also be easily misleading because there are no clear indications as to how to easily use it or clear objectives to reach.

Before introducing the list of topics for the training of the political pastorate, Operaf (2008:8) declares: “Pastors who are called to minister to leaders have to specialise in political pastorate after the following curriculum. ...” The specialisation is acquired through attending the following seminars: “Seminars on important Political theories; Political Theology; Political Pastorate; Land: its theology, management and healing; Collective sins; History of Africa; African context: African challenges; Urban problems; International problems; Research and strategies...” Unfortunately, Operaf (2008) says nothing clear about the personality, qualities and Christian character of the speaker, teacher or facilitator, who will contribute to the specialisation of the members of the political pastorate. It is also unclear whether the teachings will be offered by an individual or a team of speakers. Eventually, this situation poses the problem of how this specialisation will be evaluated and credited in the end. The duration of the training remains also unfixed and unclear. As in this subsection the idea is to appreciate the simplicity of the content of this manual and the potential it holds to lead its users to a variety of comprehension and interpretation, I do not necessarily list each of the topics; rather a few of these have been listed in the subsection. To avoid possible

misinterpretation, the users of the programmes need a serious training on the practical feasibility, a high familiarity with the content of the topics, the objectives pursued and the methods to be used to reach these objectives.

The aspect of teaching the history of Africa is a very important one. But to be really useful for the needed transformation, this history can be taught by a person who really understands and determinedly pursues cultural, social and psychological therapy of the African people and the restoration of their full self-esteem. For pastors and highly educated Africans, some of who are teachers of this African history have been found still betraying deep signs of subtle self despise, low self-esteem and mistrust in their own potential and values as Africans (Banza 2003:43-45).

Operaf (2008:9-11) lists a few topics for the empowerment of the leaders and the development of their leadership qualities (integrity, wisdom, patience, forgiveness, humility, etc.). These important topics are equally simply listed as those of Operaf (2008:8). Besides, most of the topics proposed in Operaf (2008:8) seem to have little potential for moral education and transformation of the African elite and political leaders though they (topics) hold a huge academic value; most of them tend to develop head or intellectual values and personality ethic more than they develop heart values and character ethic, which are most needed for transformational leadership (Mombo 2009:66-67).

To improve the development of a transformational leadership, Operaf (2008:10) presents a simple process to go through. It suggests that the home cell leader or conference speaker starts the meeting by discussing the definition of the topic; then, s/he asks questions to the audience to raise various opinions; at last, a biblical stand is proposed before reaching the conclusion on the debated topic. The same page of this manual specifies the objectives of the discussion of the topics, indicating that it is not about making an exhaustive or definite study of the topics; it is rather about provoking the reflection of the audience while insisting on the fact that the Bible offers logical elements of the answer. It is also about encouraging Christians to consider the Bible as a reliable authority for life-challenging problems and about inciting the audience to take a clear biblical position. It can be noted here that, according to Operaf (2008:3-4) at this level these people should have already experienced religious or spiritual conversion

stage. The steps and objectives suggested at this stage make sense only if the meetings are conducted by a four-dimensionally transformed Christian leader¹² with good Christian values and really concerned about the transformation of others. Otherwise, political leaders cannot be led to an effective four-dimensional conversion/transformation or to the development of good values and Christian character needed for socio-political transformation. If a church leader knows too little or nothing about the working of the four-dimensional discipleship, his/her good mechanical performance according to Operaf (2008:10) above will serve almost no real purpose. For many of those who have learnt and have been teaching Bible stories for years, the same stories have, seemingly, failed to transform them as seen earlier (Tshilenga 2005:165-166; Mutombo-Mukendi 2005:119-121).

6.2.3.1.2 Selection of church leaders

Secondly related to the problem of the interpretation dimension of the praxis is the selection of the leaders who have to carry out the programmes of the organisation to reach the intended objectives. As mentioned earlier, the president of Operaf is generally the chief person, who is in charge of selecting the needed church leaders, basically on the ground of their academic theological training, their official ordination, and on the requirements such as ability to discuss with (political) leaders in a coherent and logical way; ability to collaborate with the regional supervisor and the national coordinator and on the basis of their respectability within their nations. These criteria seem to lose sight of something very important. According to Tshilenga (2005:195-196), despite their theological education, biblical training or otherwise, African church workers, particularly, Congolese, excel in the following three collective sins: corruption, tribalism and compromise with dictators. These three sins are decisive in the sense that they disqualify people as true spiritual leaders as detailed later in 6.4. The fact that being free from these collective sins is not one of the criteria for the selection is a serious concern because someone who is caught up in these sins cannot be a transformational leader for she/he proves not to have been transformed. Mbigi (2000:6; 2005:144) considers such a

¹² As indicated in 8.3 this is a leader who has experienced a spiritual/religious, intellectual, moral and

defect in the character of a leader as a major obstacle, a decisive disqualification. Not taking the three sins into consideration for the section of the political pastors raises a serious concern because a pastor, who supports dictatorships, can hardly speak and work against them or advise dictators to behave ethically or become true democratic and caring people. Including pastors caught up in these sins and consequent abnormal anti-social behaviours and actions in the organisation would render it ineffective in its mission of detecting and assessing anti-social traits. Such pastors can also render the organisation ineffective in its mission of combatting socio-political evils to real eradication and of developing people who enjoy essential values for true socio-political transformation. The organisation would ultimately be impaired to detect, assess, speak and work against corruption, ethnocentrism, dictatorship, and other related anti-values of the church leaders, which are also characteristic traits of the poor African political leadership to date.

As indicated earlier in 6.2.1.2.6, in the main, the President selects and appoints the high-ranking leaders of the organisation. And it is not clear in the constitution of the organisation who else can do the things he is doing in case of his unavailability. Because it was clear during my interview with the International President on 8 May 2011 that the organisation does not have a deputy president. Working alone poses the problem of the sharing of experiences and preparation of successors; because very often when the succession is assumed by people ill-prepared or just associated in the last minutes there is more recipe for failure than for success. Speaking of the time of passing the reins to the leader's successor, Walters (1987:115-116) maintains:

Finally, he should always look ahead to the time when he will have to step aside and allow others to take charge. As all life is said to be a preparation for the "final examination" of death, so all leadership should be viewed as a preparation for that moment when one passes the reins to his successor.

On how well your organization functions after you leave it, quite as much as on how well it is functioning now, can your true skill as a leader be judged. It is a sad fact that organizations rarely continue to flourish after their founders' passing.

The situation becomes complex and confusingly dangerous when one remembers that any transformational leader is measured not only by their personal achievements, but also by the degree to which they have prepared their successors. Mathafena (2007:66) remarks that the principal “characteristic of transformational leadership is that the success of this kind of leader is measured not only by outcomes such as business results and productivity, but also by how well the leader has developed followers into effective transformational leaders”. A transformational leadership is measured by both the leader’s performance and development, and by the degree to which associates are developed to their full leadership potential. The associates are encouraged to use the techniques of effective leadership.

Given that these church leaders are selected to afford the development of transformational qualities in socio-political leaders of their nations, it can be deemed essential to consider a larger range of the church leaders’ transformational qualities for selection, including required character and abilities as detailed later in Chapter Seven. Transformative, spiritual, psychological and social character traits as integrity (Prozesky 1990a:138; Van Rensburg 2007:95), unconditional love and consideration for the underdog (Smith 1996:40-41), intercession readiness for people in authority (Halverson 1982:23), ability to practise right transformative theologies (Kretzschmar 2006:352), not suffering from social psychopathologies (Fanon 1967:125), personal experience with a four-dimensional discipleship (Banza 2003:54-58), Christian character (Thomson 1996:45) and proactivity and conflict management abilities (Smith 1996:64), seem to have been largely left out.

6.2.3.1.3 *Training of church leaders*

Thirdly related to *reflection* or *tradition interpretation* is the fact that Operaf understands the value of training church leaders. It can be clearly seen in Operaf (2008:8) that proposes a list of topics for the training of pastors for the position of political pastorate. However, as indicated earlier the programme seems to lose sight of character crisis in the African Christians’ as showcased below. The research of Gifford (1998:307) on *African Christianity* shows that many African Christians, including church leaders have serious

ethical problems. Tshilenga (2005:165-166) also observes that corruption, tribalism and siding with dictators are rife among African church workers. Ideally, this is a right place for Operaf to combat the three collective sins of the church workers who are supposed to work for the organisation. So, church workers can need a more rigorous preparation than what has been proposed in the Operaf manual and even testing them, where necessary, before involving them in such a ministry which intends to transform both individuals and communities. Speaking of the cosy church-state relationship in some African countries and the way the government elite of Cameroon have been serving themselves and have beggared the country in pursuit of their own gains, Gifford (1998:307) remarks: “These attitudes are at least partly shared by the church elite, and many churches, too, are characterised by *‘la politique du ventre’*”. Instead of serving the people, they often use their church positions and/or positions in the society to serve themselves while causing the suffering of many. Considering the situation of DR Congo, for instance, high-ranking church workers such as apostles, bishops and pastors are found in different social and political positions where they are no better than common people of the country. For example, they are working at the Presidency of the country; they are cabinet ministers; they are in the Parliament and Senate of their country. As mentioned earlier in 3.4, a typical case is that of the behaviours and actions of the high-ranking leaders of the Church of Christ of Congo that are no different from or sometimes worse than those of the common citizens of their country despite their positions in the church and their big academic degrees (Mutombo-Mukendi 2005:120-121). It can be conceded that the biggest challenge with a project where churches have to develop a transformational leadership is not the non-Christian people; nor is it the “ordinary” Christians, but rather the church workers or church elites who need to be role modelling in the first place (Mutombo-Mukendi 2011:269-271). Banza (2003:56, 57) explains such misbehaviours by poor conversion, especially, poor moral and political conversion; Van der Walt (2001:101) would justify the same by generalised dualism and Kretzschmar (2006:352) by truncated spirituality, especially by, a privatised one or by a socially irrelevant theology. Though the neglect of the personal transformation of the leader or trainer seems to be a dangerous current currency, sometimes it is just ignored even in the lives of those who train others or design leadership programmes. The impact of such a situation is

serious; Maxwell (2007:1118) observes: “Leaders cannot give what they do not have”. Commenting on the development of good character and discipline in the lives of others, Mbigi (2005:145) maintains:

Learning to be involves being able to develop character and discipline, and this aspect is often neglected in current leadership programmes. Many leadership programmes emphasise managing others instead of managing oneself, and throughout history self-management has been the distinguishing work of geniuses in every walk of life. Any obstacle to success in life can be overcome, but if you yourself are the obstacle then nothing can be done to remove the constraint.

The quote stresses the urgency of the transformation of the leader before getting involved in seeking the transformation of others. For it is hard for one to adequately assess the value of what they have never experienced. It equally emphasises the danger that ministry leaders and their ministries run if they lose sight of the priority of personal transformation before designing effective transformative programmes and projects for the transformation of their people, nations and communities, especially of leaders. The whole church seems to be running the same danger in the sense that if it were playing fully its role of transforming its membership to transform others and their whole communities, ministries such as Operaf and many others of the kind could not be so important in nations where the percentage of the Christian community is so high as DR Congo and much of the sub-Saharan Africa as a whole (Banda 2010:109).

It can also be specified here that Mbigi does not speak necessarily of the Christian leadership. It can, however, be observed that when it comes to solving a socio-political problem or a problem of autocratic and bad leadership in the community, Christians sometimes prove so ungodly and highly academic-minded that they often forget the action of the Almighty God who asks them to pray for the peace of their communities and the transformation of their leaders as suggested in Jeremiah 29:7 and 1 Timothy 2:1-4, for example. Almost unsure of the power of God, Christians sometimes rush into writing projects and elaborating programmes to others while forgetting their own state. It is not to suggest that Christians do not have to write projects. Conversely, they should write them because those who work for the impoverishment of peoples and of their communities, for

environmental and human destruction (Perkins 2004:ix-xxi) also plan and often use pernicious powers as mentioned earlier (Renou 2001:421-422), to act very destructively. But the suggestion is that before writing projects, Christians can first consider their own spiritual state and then think about praying.

6.2.4 Strategic planning & achievements

The subsection consists in examining how Operaf plans, strategises and makes decisions for transformative actions in this African context (Kritzinger 2010:11), specifically, as concerns the development of transformational leadership. These include various means or activities devised for use to evangelise, communicate with leaders and influence them to positive and transformative socio-political behaviours (Operaf 2008:7). Aspects such as evangelistic methods used by the organisation, their interventions in the community, however limited they might be, and the achievements have been considered.

6.2.4.1 Evangelistic methods

Given the sophistication of reaching such prominent people with the gospel, the organisation usually uses leadership cells, home or office cells and even restaurants and conference rooms as meeting places for evangelism. Evangelism CD's, workshops, seminars, consultations, friendship breakfasts, evangelism dinners or banquets, evangelism films, Christian literature are equally used to reach and evangelise the leaders, communicate or share the gospel with various socio-political leaders. As seen in 6.2.1, all agents such as Operaf International President, political pastors, domain leaders can use evangelistic material and play a role towards the development of leaders and the transformation in the community.

Basically, Operaf International President and political pastorate members conduct Bible studies during meetings with political leaders. Most Bible studies are about Bible characters with some political involvement such as Moses, Joseph, Joshua, David, Daniel, Solomon, Nehemiah, Jehoshaphat, (Operaf 2008:7).

6.2.4.2 Community interventions

Sometimes Operaf encourages and involves political leaders, business executives, church leaders, and other leadership people, in manual labour in a popular area. These can consist in mending bits of a damaged road, taking care of and rejuvenating old public buildings or the like. Or else, Christians in various leadership positions are sensitised to carry out some collective development actions to arouse and cultivate their civic sense of responsibility.

6.2.4.3 Achievements

Operaf is already operative in many African countries to varying degrees; specifically, in Angola, Benin, Burkina Fasso, Burundi, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Congo (DRC), Congo (Republic of), Cote d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Gabon, Ghana, Kenya, Liberia, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda. It also counts a few representations overseas among the African Diaspora. Those include Belgium, France, Italy, and the United Kingdom (Operaf 2009c:2). More than seven hundred leaders (including 10 cabinet ministers, 15 Members of Parliament and senators) came to the Lord within the last six years (National Coordination of Operaf DR Congo 2010). Four hundred leading people are attending discipleship programmes (these are programmes to disciple them so that they can grow up spiritually) for socio-political transformation, two hundred and fifty others are attending leadership courses (courses to help them understand the true meaning of leadership as Christians) and forty leadership groups/cells are operative just now (Operaf 2009c:2).

As concerns the achievements in DR Congo, over the last ten years of serving the socio-political leadership of the country, Operaf has reached out to a considerable number of leaders (National Coordination of Operaf DR Congo 2010).

6.2.4.4 Assessing Operaf's Strategic planning

At this level the assessment has been limited to the following three points: evangelistic methods, dissemination methodology and achievements or contributions of Operaf to leadership development.

6.2.4.4.1 Assessing evangelistic methods

Many of the socio-political leaders with whom the Bible is shared, have been church members for years; unfortunately, they proved to lack in the necessary virtues and abilities to transform themselves and their communities (Muluma 2002:229-232). Business and political leaders have been ministered to by Operaf DR Congo as seen in 6.2.4.3; unfortunately, there has not been a research which has shown that socio-political life of the people of the land has improved as a result of this. However, my suggestion is therefore that a comprehensive evangelisation for transformational socio-political be used, meaning that all the evangelism and Bible teaching planning and activities converge and address effective transformation of individuals and their contexts. The activities need to transcend salvation by faith in Christ Jesus and mere belief in the Bible and its observation; evangelisation should specifically address personal investment in the transformation of other individuals and their communities. Basically, this approach intends to make sure that religious and intellectual conversion has taken place; beyond that it specifically aims at reaching effective moral and socio-political conversion in the life of the political leaders as detailed later in 8.3. Theoretically and practically the trained leaders will develop a personal sense of responsibility to respect and serve the poor, the marginalised and all underdogs, and seek and bring about social justice and socio-political transformation in the community at large (Banza 2003:54-55).

6.2.4.4.2 Dissemination methodology

Related to the planning strategies is how the whole church can extensively be involved as detailed below, which can be called *dissemination methodology*. The *Dissemination methodology* here is the methodology Operaf has been using to spread the information

about the vision in order to convey the vision and involve church workers in the work. It is reported that during the Contact Phase the Operaf International President contacts the Christian leaders of the targeted country to share the vision with them (Operaf (2008:7). The Christian leaders concerned here are generally people like presidents of the National Council of Churches, heads of the denominations, and the like, to delegate and appoint some of their subordinate leaders to the organisation. This methodology can create a sort of *elitist ministry* for the selected few church leaders, who have to become part of the organisation and know what to do with the public leaders of their town or city. The large majority of churches and the leaders of the place remain with unanswered questions about what to do with the public leaders, with members of their denominations and churches and of their whole community. The second problem the ministry can pose in training African elites far from the rest of the community, as mentioned in 6.2.2.3, is of keeping the elite in isolation, the situation which is culturally contrary to African solidarity (Van Rensburg 2007:89) and ecclesiastically not advisable. Elites naturally enjoy living in seclusion from the common people, which is also the source of some of the socio-political problems this continent is experiencing (Banza 2003:64). Keeping the leaders in the conditions of seclusion is a comfort that does not help them to transform themselves into any kind of integrated servant leadership. It does not help the church either to know whether their work has been a success or failure. I would rather suggest that instead of an elitist ministry that is like an island in a wide sea of ignorant and anxious church leaders who are struggling with their prominent church members whose spiritual, social and political needs they do not know how to meet, Operaf can still have the representatives of their ministry on the ground. But at the same time they can try to involve as many churches as possible, training their leaders and helping them with what to do with the public and/political leaders who are in their churches and their surrounding communities. In this case Operaf will need to develop at least a sketchy description of the problems these leaders are experiencing and how to solve them. So doing will equip and empower more church leaders for a more professional and focused service to the leaders of their churches and denominations and communities. Doing this would also be a way of multiplying not only the ministry but also the church workers, who would do political pastorate in different congregations and different parts of the city or town at any time

whenever the need arises instead of always relying on the few selected-church workers of the organisation.

I would like to insist that avoiding selective development of transformational leaders and selective targeting of only elite and people in the positions of leadership is essential; for only God knows who will be the next leader of a given community or people. Forty years earlier, it was hard for one to image Obama as an African American to become the president of USA or Mandela stand as president of South Africa 30 years before 1994. Twenty-five years prior to 1994, it was equally difficult to image Thabo Mbeki occupying the presidency of South Africa. Banza (2003:28-29) further offers, for example, a list of people who have ended up leading their communities and nations, but, who formerly were unimaginable as leaders. The incumbent president of DR Congo was born and grew up abroad where his father was also exiled. Out of the twenty-five incumbent cabinet ministers of the 2003 Congo, only one was appointed from within the borders of the country while the remaining twenty-four were appointed from abroad where they were not leaders at all. All the diplomats of DR Congo accredited to South Africa from 1997 to 2000 were appointed from South Africa where they were refugees. Most of the political leaders and many of the business executives of such countries as Uganda, Rwanda, DR Congo and the Republic of Congo were former refugees. And many of them came into power straight from abroad (:28-29). So, this exclusivist philosophy is but non-African, discriminatory and incapable of developing effective and sustainable leaders for the transformation of the continent.

The third problem that can be noticed in Operaf (2008:1), specifically in the vision and mission of the organisation, and that is also confirmed in Operaf (2009a:1), is that of the African community that seems to be completely left out. Common Africans need to be also educated to be able to act and/or react in an informed fashion in order to contribute efficiently to this leadership development. African leaders naturally come from their communities, which have also significantly influenced their lives and character; all the members of those communities, if not most of them, need to be involved in the transformation process to render this transformation really sustainable and effective (Kretzschmar 2008:150-151). The African communities where this church organisation operates need specific programmes for the effective equipping, empowering and

transformation of its members and for the real participation and contribution of these members to the enterprise of transformation as it will be seen in Chapter Eight. This is also in line with the African traditional way of preparing, selecting and involving their socio-political leadership in the life of the community (Gordon 2002:2-3). Besides, as all Africans are not part of the church, the materialisation and implementation of such an excellent idea of transforming the continent requires a separate project, especially designed to transform and involve the members of the community at large. The idea makes sense even to the common people of the community as suggested in the report of the conference on “the rulers of the gentiles”, in DR Congo, on 14 December 2003 (Operaf 2003:1).

Here, people can learn to be good and transformational leaders, but also become able to prepare leaders from their households, appreciate their good and transformational leaders and encourage them in their endeavours, and stand firmly and in an informed fashion against the poor and exploitive leadership.

With a view to community involvement for socio-political transformation, commenting on mission as liberation, Bellagamba (1992:57-58) suggests serial steps and activities in order to render this transformation deep and serious enough so as to have lasting effects as detailed later in Section 8.5.

6.2.5 Reflexivity and assessing contributions of Operaf

Given that the main purpose of the analysis of the training programmes in this thesis has been to determine the contributions of the organisations rather than the effectiveness of training programmes in 2.7.2, this subsection focuses on specifying the contributions of Operaf to leadership development for socio-political transformation. As concerns the reflexivity of Operaf, attention is specifically paid to the interplay between different dimensions, especially, the four analysed above and the way they have worked together as proposed in 2.5 to reach its stated objectives. For example, the way different agents have used the vision, mission statement, context analysis, interpretation of traditions of the organisation to plan strategically in order to contribute to leadership development and socio-political transformation have been examined to assess the contributions. The results of the field works of the organisation as found in their documents have been examined in

the first place to see what has been practically achieved. Sometimes two of the proposed programmes have been considered under the same subsection with others depending on how much importance Operaf paid or did not pay to them.

6.2.5.1 Academic training Programme for leadership development

The programme proposed in 2.5.1 is an academic programme offered by specialists in given fields of knowledge; it includes History, Theories of Leadership, Critical Thinking, Leading Groups, Ethics and Leadership. It also comprehends a list of competency courses such as conflict resolution, decision making, and policy making. These subjects are offered for two years by specialists. Operaf training programme equally comprises similar themes such as: History of Africa, African challenges, leadership, business ethics, political ethics, conflict prevention and conflict resolution. The difference is that Operaf is not an academic institution; the organisation does not have people who have specialised in most of the subjects and topics proposed in their programme. Because of these difficulties most of these have remained less used. So, I can conclude that there are similarities in this regard, but deciding on the exact contribution in this regard remains difficult.

6.2.5.2 Spiritual training for effective leadership development

As already indicated in 2.5.4, this aspect is very important in leadership development and particularly so for the development of a transformational leadership for Africa. This aspect of transformation has been the focus of Operaf's activities for leadership development. So, the agents of the organisation have been using "prescribed materials", conferences and seminars in the development of the desired transformational leadership. Most of these activities revolved around political theology and spiritual transformation/conversion.

The main "prescribed materials" are the Bible, Emmanuel K. Tshilenga's *Collective Sin in Africa*, John H. Redekop's *Politique Soumise à Dieu* and Felix Mutombo-Mukendi's *La Théologie Politique Africaine*. *Collective Sin in Africa* tackles the sins commonly committed as "collective sins" in sub-Saharan Africa; the

consequences of these sins for the common people, on the leadership and on the larger community and how to combat them are discussed in this book. “Real conversion¹³” to God of Jesus Christ is discussed, thus sensitising people against the sins as effective solution. The *Politique Soumise à Dieu* basically educates Christians about their socio-political responsibilities. It encourages them to get involved in the political life of their nations and communities, and to shine there as light in the darkness of the degenerated world. Politicians are encouraged to work and lead knowing that the authority and power they enjoy are God-given benefits, which should also be used for the glory of God and the good of many. The book encourages living after biblical ethic. The *Théologie Politique Africaine* insists that unless the African church and its leadership transform themselves and start living after biblical teachings no real African Political Theology is possible in the continent. The book insists that effective African political theologians are people who can have deep knowledge of the African culture and problems, African history, African church theologies and who can adopt adequate theologies which can effectively address African challenges. The book speaks more to church leaders than to other people.

One of the Operaf conferences was the one of October 2010 in Pretoria. It took a week during which the attendees discussed on Political Theology in the twenty-first century Africa. Speakers and scores of church leaders came from different parts of Africa to take part and share experiences on how to use political theology to transform the continent, especially through the development of a transformational leadership. Among key speakers was Professor Felix Mutombo-Mukendi, who is a professor at the Theological Faculty in Brussels, Belgium. He spoke of who and how political theology could be used effectively. He insisted that only Church leaders who have been transformed by the words of the Christ, who have good understanding of the history of Africa and who can teach and live according to that knowledge can be efficient political theologians for this continent. Dr. EK Tshilenga spoke of practical experiences of the application of this theology in Africa through Operaf and presented some of the results as indicated in 6.2.5.5.

¹³ Recognition of personal sin, repentance to God for forgiveness and acceptance of Jesus Christ as personal Saviour and Lord (Tshilenga 2005:196).

As concerns the contributions of Operaf after the proposals made in 2.5, the most important contribution of the organisation is the spiritual training they give after their insistence on religious/spiritual transformation (Operaf 8:9-10).

6.2.5.3 Leadership development from within & education through ubuntu

In general, Operaf agents take time to do what they call “Etat de Lieu¹⁴”. They analyse the context to understand the real problems of a given community so as to adapt training and discussions to the real situations. It is also out of that analysis that, sometimes, they adopt community interventions as indicated in 6.2.4.2; these interventions are a way of communicating a practical sense of service to the community for socio-political transformation though there are no elaborated projects for such activities. Leadership development through ubuntu education as indicated in 2.5.3, could also be felt in Operaf’s activities, but given that there were no special programmes or activities for this education, there was also a lack of focus. Ubuntu being viewed as a social ethic which can be inculcated through interaction with various social institutions as indicated earlier (families, schools, and the like) could be possible if Operaf had such a programme. As indicated earlier in 2.7 and 4.6.4.2, unethical church leadership is also a problem for the ethical education of political leaders. In such a situation it is also difficult to appreciate the real ethical contribution of Operaf agents to the people of the local communities and to their leadership.

6.2.5.4 Psychotherapy and anti-recolonisation preparation

The contributions of psychotherapy and anti-recolonisation to leadership development for socio-political transformation have been discussed earlier, specifically, in 2.5.5 and 2.5.6. Van Rensburg (2007:61-62) suggests that psychological restoration or psychotherapy is needed in the development of an African leadership for socio-political transformation, explaining that such restoration can help to combat the negative consequences of the bleak history of the continent on its people including its leaders. As indicated earlier Mbeki (2011:5-6) and Mbeki (2012a:14-15) speak against colonisation, but educate

Africans listening to him and/or reading his writings to be empowered against any form of colonisation and neo-colonialism. The organisation does not have a special programme addressing psychological restoration and anti-recolonisation. And having attended many of Operaf's training programmes (conferences and seminars), though African History features among the subjects for discussion, I can conclude that psychotherapy and anti-recolonisation projects have been overlooked in the training activities.

6.2.5.5 Field results

Operaf has been operational in twenty-two countries in Africa and its four representations serve the African diaspora in Europe. Convincing so many church and denomination leaders to work for the development of a political leadership for socio-political transformation in Africa has been a very big contribution. This has been basically the work of the international President and his team. Through its national coordinators, political pastorate members, guides and other agents, the organisation has ministered to more than seven hundred leaders (including 10 cabinet ministers, 15 Members of Parliament and senators) who came to the Lord within the last six years in the Congo (National Coordination of Operaf DR Congo 2010). Four hundred leading people have been through discipleship programmes with forty leadership groups/cells operative in the Congo (Operaf 2009c:2). Testimonies of the people who went through Operaf training programmes also refers to a significant contribution (Operaf 2009b:2-3). Among those testimonies the following two point specifically to positive acquisition of knowledge and socio-political behavioural changes. A person who had been a cabinet minister for years, but who later went through Operaf training, expressed an exceptional joy for the high quality of the new knowledge he had acquired from Operaf. He expressed the wish that most Congolese would also go through that training because it would lead them to a personal transformation that would lead to socio-political transformation in the country (:2). One of the leaders of Operaf tells of how his ways of thinking and doing things have changed due to his involvement in Operaf. While he was the head of Operaf in his country, he was also working as a managing director of an international golf school.

¹⁴ It means "The state of the place". This is the analysis of a given context to understand its problems so as

Before then the school was mismanaged and workers were almost never paid on time; or salaries were only partially paid. But when he came to understand his responsibility as a Christian and a leader, he reorganised both the functioning of the school and its finances so that workers were always paid on time and all their outstanding money paid to them. When most workers admired what a different person he had become and congratulated him, the leadership who had benefited from the previous disorderly situation started plots against him (:3). It can also be concluded here that discussions with Operaf students showed a positive interest in the training programmes offered by the organisation as a factor for personal transformation and the resulting transformation of their communities.

6.3 Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute (TMALI)

TMALI is the second organisation to be analysed in this study as concerns the organisations involved in the development of the needed leadership for the socio-political transformation of the African continent. As indicated earlier this academic institution has been selected because of its involvement in leadership development for socio-political transformation and especially because I consider that well-calculated collaboration between church and non-church organisations can bring about better results. A collaboration where each organisation can play its own traditional role and fulfil its mandate while putting a special focus on the development of the needed leadership for the socio-political transformation of African communities can produce better results.

6.3.1 Introduction

TMALI is a new African leadership institution which has been officially launched in October 2010. This organisation has a very strong appeal to the African youth, especially, when one sees their response to and attendance of Thabo Mbeki Foundation conferences by thousands. The conferences are dedicated to Africa's Renaissance (Mbeki 2012b) and also contribute to the training of the institute's students. The content of TMALI's training programmes, the excitement of the students of the institute and the particular attention the staff of the institution paid to my research project when I visited them with it are some of

to adopt transformative actions.

the reasons the institution has been chosen for the research. As indicated earlier, these training programmes are driven by African Union, especially, by NEPAD capacity building programmes for the socio-political transformation of Africa.

The organisation has chosen UNISA as its institutional home. The memorandum of understanding between TMALI and UNISA has been signed in October 2009. The two parties discussed and determined then what makes TMALI distinctive from other institutions, its vision and mission statement, its objectives and its envisaged outcomes. It was also agreed that the work of the TMALI be located within the African Union's NEPAD Capacity Development Initiative, which is contained in the Capacity Development Strategic Framework (CDSF) and whose slogan is "Seeing African people as true resources". www.unisa.ac.za/=ViewContent&ContentID=23686 defines the institute as a public service, non-profit and pan-African organisation, which is a partnership between UNISA and Thabo Mbeki Foundation.

6.3.2 Agency of TMALI

TMALI uses outstanding African scholars and personalities from all over the continent; UNISA faculty constitute the primary academic staff of TMALI. Apart from using the services of high-quality academics, the institute has also the privilege of using people with a practical experience in politics such as Thabo Mbeki himself, former President Benjamin Mkapa of Tanzania who spoke on the 25 May 2011 Annual Thabo Mbeki Lecture, Joaquim Chissano former Mozambican president, Pedro Pires former president of Cape Verde and Olusegun Obasanjo former Nigerian president, who spoke on 24 May 2012 and many others.

The institute profiles its prospective students as being: professionals in different fields; members of different political parties and formations; civil servants and civil society activists; women and gender activists; students and youth; spiritual and/or religious leaders and activists (www.unisa.ac.za/=ViewContent&ContentID=23686).

According to the same website the students of the institute are expected to have the following essential attributes:

- Show a strong sense of African identity (Afro-centrism as a tool towards mental liberation and emancipation);
- Show the best attributes of an authentic African leadership;
- Show an empowerment to be able to act as organisers and catalysts for change for Africa's renewal;
- Show an empowerment to become global citizens of African origin;
- And show a commitment to serve humanity.

6.3.3 Contextual understanding

As indicated in the design the institute offers certificate and degree courses in different fields of study, but the focus of this thesis is specifically on the courses designed for leadership development. Those courses have been offered to students as short learning ones for the development of a transformational leadership for the continent. And the thesis is studying them as such and not as courses offered to any specific graduate level. The objectives of the following short courses for the graduates of TMAILI reveal what the leadership of the institute understand from their reading of the African community. As for Thabo Mbeki Foundation (2012b:7), the courses aim to

- Contribute to the ongoing process of the development of leadership on the continent;
- Contribute to the resolution of the persistent problem of African under-development;
- Contribute towards rebuilding African institutions in the areas of politics, commerce, trade, culture, investment, amongst others and
- Contribute towards policy development on critical challenges facing the continent.

In short, the problems are poor leadership in Africa, under-development, lack of the needed institutions in the field of politics, commerce, trade, culture, investment and policy development.

6.3.4 Vision and mission statement

The vision of TMALI is “Investing in thought leaders for Africa’s renewal”. And its mission statement is “To become the centre of choice for research, teaching, learning and dialogue by African thought leaders to advance African Renaissance” (Thambo Mbeki Foundation 2012b:8).

6.3.5 Tradition interpretation

The institute draws its ideology and intends to inspire Africans through the literature which fosters African Renaissance philosophy such as works of Franz Fanon, Thabo Mbeki’s writings, Moeletsi Mbeki’s Architects of poverty, Cheikh Anta Diop’s works, and the UNESCO General history of Africa. Essential details on these works will be provided in subsections found under 6.3.8 *Reflexivity* where their particular contribution to leadership development will also explained.

The central philosophy that guides the work of TMALI is that Africans need to be empowered to become masters of their destiny and to shape Africans’ mind to this end. Consequently, a specific kind of literature is recommended and lectures offered. TMALI believes that Africa is capable of providing African solutions to African problems. Africa’s abundant natural resources must be harnessed for Africa’s benefit. In the area of commerce, it is necessary to restructure the relationship between Africa and the rest of the world to ensure that Africa becomes an equal partner at international bodies like the World Trade Organisation and the World Economic Forum. The central goal of the Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute is to train African cadres for Africa’s renewal in a bid to help ensure that African hands are extended less and less in supplication, so that more and more they become human hands which are working to transform the world. The purpose of the institute is to invest in and liberate new thought leaders for Africa’s rejuvenation in the 21st century and beyond in order to contribute to the ongoing process of the development of leadership on the continent, to the resolution of the persistent problem of African underdevelopment, towards the rebuilding of African institutions.

The institute offers essential subjects to their students in order to attain the assigned objectives. Studies on ancient Africa are conducted in order to bring about cultural and psychological therapy to African life; students study then ancient Africa, its achievements and its contributions to human knowledge and epistemology (www.unisa.ac.za/=ViewContent&ContentID=23686).

6.3.6 Strategic planning of TMALI

The birth of TMALI has been primarily motivated by the need to see Africa reborn through well designed and offered services. According to UNISA website above the following services are therefore of utmost importance to reach the objective of the renaissance of Africa:

- Promoting and commissioning of a high-quality research on topics related to African Renaissance;
- Offering short learning courses as well as modules to students registered for other UNISA programmes for graduate and postgraduate studies;
- Contributing to policy formation and transformation through publication, convening of seminars and conference;
- Establishing a specialised library and museum housing works by outstanding African scholars and personalities.

Being still so new on the operational field, TMALI has organised such events as a round table for business leaders in April 2010, Inaugural Annual Thabo Mbeki Lectures on 27 May 2010, 25 May 2011 and 24 May 2012, short courses offered from July to September 2010, the launch of the Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute from 11-13 October 2010, and many other lectures. The institute does not present a clear report concerning its achievements. However, from the interview with TMALI leaders it can be indicated that up to the end of 2012 graduates total 252.

6.3.7 Assessing TMALI

This sub-section affords the evaluation of the methodology and work of TMALI as organisation involved in leadership development for the socio-political transformation of Africa.

6.3.7.1 Assessing TMALI agency

The institute shows the seriousness of their ambition to develop a transformational leadership by the kind of agents they use. Basically, TMALI uses outstanding African scholars and personalities from all over the continent, UNISA faculty constituting the primary academic staff of the institute. For example, Thabo Mbeki Foundation (2012b:15) shows Ambassador Dumisani Kumalo, the former South African Ambassador to UN explaining the UN Charter to TMALI students in September 2011. One of the scholars TMALI has used is Professor Lilia Labidi from the University of Singapore. She is one of the 100 most powerful Arab women in the world. She was one of the leaders of the uprisings in Tunisia that marked the beginning of the Arab Uprising. She also spoke at the International Women's Day Conference organised by the organisation on 12 March 2012. Dr. Khaled Qasaymeh is also one of the speakers at this same conference. His research interests include international law, computer law, Islamic law, international human right law and international humanitarian law (Thabo Mbeki Foundation 2012a). As indicated in 6.2.2, apart from using the services of the high-quality academics, the institute has also the privilege of using people with a practical experience in politics.

The institute is careful even in the profiling of its prospective students and in fixing the standards these students are expected to reach. The students are expected to be: professionals from different fields, members of different political parties and formations, and the like as indicated in 6.3.2 (www.unisa.ac.za/=ViewContent&ContentID=23686).

However, it remains unclear how TMALI would measure the strength of the sense of African identity of the students, the attributes of authentic African leadership, the ability to become global citizens from Africa and the real commitment to serve humanity

before registering them for training. The institution does not provide clear instruments or selection mechanism which would be used to assess these abstract values before registering the students; the lack of such powerful instruments can pose a problem.

In his *Africa – Define Yourself*, one of the prescribed books, Mbeki (2003:101) promises that the critical matters of Africa's development and reconstruction must also be communicated to the African masses in order to empower them for proper and informed reaction, behaviours, attitudes and actions. But the activity programme of the institute does not propose an activity for African masses' information, transformation and empowerment.

6.3.7.2 Assessing contextual understanding of TMALI

Given the observations made in 6.3.3, it can be assessed that the leadership of TMALI have a very comprehensive understanding of the problems which continuously keep the continent back; they specifically identify the issues of poor leadership in Africa, under-development, lack of the needed institutions in the field of politics, commerce, trade, culture, investment and policy development. They have equally adopted programmes which can lead to the effective resolution of the problems as seen earlier though the clear results are still waited for.

6.3.7.3 Assessment of vision and mission statement

TMALI's vision of investing in thought leaders in order to bring about the transformation of Africa and its mission statement to become the centre of choice for research, teaching, learning and dialogue by African thought leaders to advance African Renaissance are closely related to their contextual understanding, tradition interpretation and strategic planning. Such logical consistency can promise effective results in the end.

The subjects offered by TMALI generally tend to bring about a paradigm shift regarding how Africans view themselves and how they are viewed by others as expected by the institution. As concerns the mission statement to become the centre for research, teaching, learning and dialogue, given conferences, short courses and the elementary

African Renaissance library in progress, it can be indicated that it is progressively being fulfilled (TMALI leaders 12 July).

6.3.7.4 Assessing tradition interpretation and strategic planning of TMALI

Arguably, this institute puts the most efforts possible in the development of the managerially skilled Africans who can plan, act and manage well the economic, technical, scientific, social and political aspects of the life of their people, which is good. But, it is not clear in their programmes how managerial and leadership skills are developed to operate together for an effective transformational leadership. Because if it is only a one-sided or stronger development of personality ethic that overlooks or neglects the development of character ethic, in the long run, it tends to ultimately create problems when these highly skilled people are better at doing things right and worse at doing the right things (Mombo 2009:66-67). It must not be forgotten that some of the worse abusers of Africans are also highly-skilled Africans but poor in ethical values. That is why the balance between the ethical and managerial skills is needed in leadership development.

6.3.8 Reflexivity and assessing contributions of TMALI

As concerns this dimension of the missiological praxis (Reflexivity), the attention is specifically paid to the interplay between different dimensions analysed above and the way they have worked together to reach TMALI's objectives. For example, the way different agents have used the vision, mission statement, context analysis, interpretation of traditions of the organisation to plan strategically in order to contribute to leadership development and socio-political transformation have been examined to assess the contributions. The interplay between different dimensions of the praxis has been assessed by examining the specific way the organisation has worked after the training programmes proposed in 2.5. The field results of the organisation have been examined in the first place to see what has been practically achieved as detailed below. Sometimes two of the proposed programmes have been examined under the same subsection with others depending on how much importance TMALI paid or did not pay to them. As concerns discussions with students of TMALI, it can be reported that the students showed a high

degree of interest in the training programmes offered because of the particular contents of those programmes which specifically pursued transformations in individuals and their communities. Thabo Mbeki Foundation (2012b:12-13) suggests further cases of students' special interest in their training programmes; this is particularly emphasised by their speeches and active interactions with TMALI's leaders.

6.3.8.1 Academic training for leadership development

As a higher education institution TMALI offers practically all the training subjects proposed in 2.5.1, especially African History, leadership theories and ethics. Prescribed materials, conferences and seminars, and assignments on specific topics are also there to help students reinforce their understanding of the materials offered. Other aspects of the training below have also been assessed after prescribed materials as found in TMALI's programmes.

Mbeki (2012b) describes the type of leaders required by Africa as “men and women of reason, who are qualified and capable of holding their own in world affairs, and who can be trusted in their dealings with people and resources”. TMALI intends to meet the need as expressed in this definition of the leadership Africa requires by offering the students programmes which afford them to acquire the relevant knowledge and qualifications, but also which allow them to reach cultural and psychological healing and the necessary preparation against neo-colonisation and/or recolonisation. Therefore, prescribed materials, short learning courses and related modules, seminars, conferences including Annual Thabo Mbeki Lectures are used. The short learning courses generally require a minimum of six months to be completely covered. The description of some of the basic materials is a clear evidence of the aspects which constitute TMALI's contributions. For example, the Studies on Ancient Africa, particularly its achievements and contributions to human knowledge and epistemology play an important role as they provide the students with the necessary knowledge. At the same time they strive to bring about cultural and psychological therapy to Africans while preparing them against a possible recolonisation of the continent. Further details on *academic training* can be found in the following subsections.

6.3.8.2 *Social and ethical training through Ubuntu education*

As indicated earlier, the basic issue here is the necessary ethical education or moral formation for the needed leaders. The use of the term *ubuntu* is especially to underscore the importance of the African culture in this training. Studies on Ancient Africa and many other materials have been used to provide students with ethic education while empowering them also in many other ways. One of these is Walter Rodney's book, *How Europe Underdeveloped Africa*. This book can educate Africans about many important things. Walter Rodney shows what Africa was like before colonisation, he underlines the African cultural and ethical values, how the leadership was developed and deployed and what the African people became through slave trade and colonisation.

A discussion on the book not only provides the students with important information on who the people of the continent were and on the valuable things they did, but also helps them to understand that Africans were better - ethically, culturally and socio-politically - than what they have become after the sad colonial events and their consequences thereof. In the process, the students can gain some cultural healing and psychological restoration but also preparation against neo-colonisation and recolonisation. There is also an ethical preparation to recover the cultural values of their foreparents who generally worked for the common good. Given the newness of the organisation in the field of leadership development for socio-political transformation, the complexity of its agents who train students and the limited role they play (since their face to face contact with students is minimal), their spirituality has remained somewhat unchecked. However, it can be indicated that people invited by TMALI to speak to students and at conferences are well-selected, meaning those whose lives are known to be ethically exemplary.

6.3.8.3 *Leadership development from within the community*

TMALI programmes do not clearly show that the organisation holds training programmes or activities among the African masses for their transformation as declared by Mbeki (2003:101), who promises to discuss with and educate all African masses and not only the leaders. However, during the interview it was suggested that the students are

encouraged to start such personal projects in their own communities. Besides, Thabo Mbeki the founder and president of TMALI gives lectures at universities in different parts of Africa. One of such was given at Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia, on 24 July, 2010. He spoke of the special place Ethiopia occupies in the history of Africa as an African country the Westerners failed to colonise but also an African country which had the privilege to defeat a European country, Italy, at Adwa, in 1896. He insists that that Ethiopian victory meant and presaged the complete victory of the entire Africa. He then invited contemporary Africans to draw inspiration from that victory so that Africans can claim the twenty-first century.

In his speech at the “Africa Arise Summit”, at the University of The Free State, Bloemfontein, 20 August, 2011, Thabo Mbeki spoke of the African political leaders’ agenda and how they executed it. Contrary to some who think and say that African leaders have failed (Abdulai 2001:25-26), he demonstrated how Africa’s political leaders achieved what they were committed to during the last 21 years and encouraged the African people to persevere and claim the twenty-first century. By listing seven essential items of the agenda that had been achieved - among which were the liberation of South Africa, revival and growth of the African economy, democratisation of the continent, struggle for peace and stability throughout the continent, strengthening the spirit of pan-Africanism, solidarity and unity, cooperation among the countries of the South and the struggle against marginalisation - he demonstrated how much had already been accomplished. These speeches as well as Annual Thabo Mbeki lectures are part of the training of TMALI students. One of these lectures which can be mentioned is that of 2011, which was presented by H.E. Mr. Benjamin Mkapa, former President of Tanzania. He spoke about “Consolidating Political Independence with Economic Transformation”. He spoke of what African people and their leaders could start doing contrary to what they have been doing since independence. He criticised the continual misdeeds of African leaders and the exploitation of the continent by the Western powers. The point is that all these lectures and conferences are for the training of TMALI students, but they are also open to the general public to contribute to continuing education for the socio-political transformation of the continent. Therefore, many African intellectuals are directly and indirectly educated in socio-political matters through TMALI’s programmes.

6.3.8.4 Spiritual training for effective leadership development

Being a secular and higher education institution, TMALI does not have special religious programmes for the spiritual transformation of its students. However, the students can often come across the many spiritual and moral aspects of the people they study in their academic materials which can also influence them in a way or another. Mihai (2009:1-2) explains that spirituality is not necessarily defined by religion and a spiritual leader can or cannot be a religious person. But she/he can be somebody who can demonstrate values of integrity, honesty, kindness, morality, ethics, love, respect in dealing with others, encouraging and inspiring others for leadership and the like. TMALI also conceptualises spirituality the same way. Consequently, it can be specified that the organisation understands the development of the spiritual values more in terms of moral and socio-political values rather than in religious terms or in terms of developing relationships with a given God.

6.3.8.5 Psychotherapy and anti-recolonisation preparation

This is about psychological therapy, which can be carried out through various techniques, and particularly through specific reading and analysis of materials. Cheikh Anta Diop's books (1974) *The African origin of civilization: myth or reality* and (1987) *Civilisation or Barbarism: an Authentic Anthology* are some of the materials used. The former argues extensively on the anteriority of the Black/African civilisation, especially that of Ancient Egypt and how it enriched many other cultures. He shows that Africans used to be culturally, intellectually and scientifically rich. Using ancient languages and scientific methods, he demonstrates that African culture influenced much of the Middle East and later European cultures. Documentations on philosophy and various sciences were produced and found in Ancient Egypt and Mali. His second book is about how Western people, especially Roman and Greek looted Ancient Egypt and how the pillaged elements were used to develop the Western civilisation while denying the African origin. The

denial of the African authorship proves that the Europeans who claimed to have to Africa in order to civilise uncivilised Africans were far from being what they claimed.

One of the recommended materials is Franz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Mask*, which insists on the negative consequences of colonisation and neo-colonisation, on how to discern and combat those consequences. Here, there is some psychotherapy and/or psychological restoration. Not only students are empowered to understand the bitter lingering consequences of colonialism, but also are prepared to deal with them. Moeletsi Mbeki's *Architects of Poverty* underlines the negative consequences of the "Donor-Democracy" as created by neo-colonialism and Cold War and how some of the current political leaders continue to exploit their own people. Through this book he also insists that things must be done differently for the common good of the African. Attacking ineffective African Renaissance of empty words, he encourages "walking the walk" through living out African Renaissance philosophy and practising "ubuntu" actively. These books are some of the prescribed materials of TMALI. They are generally discussed in connection with real African problems and how the problems are linked to their causes and how to solve them for a better future.

Besides, short learning courses on topics such as African Resource Management and Trade and Investment for African Development empower students with the necessary theoretic and practical knowledge so that they can understand the causes of the continuing underdevelopment in Africa. The students are also prepared and empowered to take practical steps, at different levels, against corruption, perpetual exploitation of the continent and neo-colonialism through institutions such as the World Bank, International Monetary Funds and multinational companies.

6.3.8.6 Field results

Given that the primary concern of this thesis is the evaluation of the nature and quality of the contributions rather than the training efficiency or the students' levels of transformation, this section will not include detailed evaluation of the degree to which TMALI students have been transformed. TMALI has organised many conferences, short courses, and other activities for leadership development. And being a distance education

institution, TMALI does not have a follow-up policy or programme as to ascertain how the graduates behave after the training. But as concerns the graduates of the organisation, from the 12 July interview with the leaders of the organisation I can report that TMALI's graduates totalled 252 by September 2012. This remarkable since 2012 is only TMALI's second academic year because its official launch was in October 2010.

The enthusiasm of the audience during conferences and/or Annual Thabo Mbeki lectures and discussions with TMALI students are evidence that the courses produce intellectual gain as well as significant cultural and psychological therapy and socio-political transformation have also been developed. My recent discussions with former students of the institution also confirm a significant transformation at the intellectual, psychological, cultural and socio-political levels. TMALI's work is a medium and long term investment for an thought African leadership. TMALI students are rerally politicians.

6.4 Conclusion

The chapter has allowed the opportunity to study the two of the African organisations, which are involved in leadership development for socio-political transformation. African Operation (Operaf) is the church organisation, which purposes to develop an African leadership for socio-political transformation. The history of the organisation, its structures and operational mechanisms have been studied in the chapter. Operaf's training programmes for the political pastorate seem to overlook the development of essential traits of the character of the effective church leadership. Such a situation can have a negative impact on the development of the necessary leadership. Barna (2001:95), for example, affirms:

While it is unhealthy to place the pastor on the pedestal as the paragon of Christianity, it is even more dangerous for the people not to have appropriate pride in the character and commitments of their spiritual leader. If nothing else, congregants ought to feel that they would be better people if they were to follow the spiritual example set by their pastor.

Operaf's procedure leading to the attainment of the proposed objectives can be efficient on condition that the church leaders that have the charge of the job have been through a

socio-political discipleship which can improve their own character and ability to understand how to transform others into effective leadership.

Poor leadership being a serious and destructive socio-political pathology, it would be more constructive for Operaf to apply the medical logic for a sustainable resolution of the problem. When there is an outbreak of a disease, after a complete diagnosis has been carried out not only patients are offered treatments, but also the surrounding communities are educated on how to heal and more importantly control and prevent the disease. While struggling to heal those leaders suffering from poor leadership, the organisation would better work, to its possibility, for the prevention of this antisocial evil through empowering the community at large with the necessary socio-political knowledge for the prevention of the scourge and training them for the development of the required leadership skills and values securing thus the promotion of a sustainable transformational leadership in the continent.

The main contribution of Operaf to leadership development is the awareness it has been raising inside and outside the church, and the insistence that God can bring about transformation within the African leadership to see socio-political transformation happen if proper actions are taken. The awareness raised and the persistent insistence may also have intellectual, moral and socio-political transformation effects; based on the report in 6.2.4.3, it can also be indicated that many leaders have been spiritually transformed.

TMALI has been initiated by Thabo Mbeki, former president of South Africa; the organisation uses people with practical experience with politics or other socio-political responsibilities, which differentiates it from a church organisation in general. After specifying issue areas and particularly the causes of the problems, TMALI proves very meticulous in resolving the problems through specific training programmes. These programmes are offered at different academic levels and through conferences, short learning courses and educational seminars. The conferences and seminars are also open to the public, which can have a positive impact on a wider African audience. As a higher education institution, TMALI's contribution consists in the clear and shrewd profiling and selection of their leadership developers and in the way their various activities converge to intellectual, moral and socio-political transformation/"conversion". As concerns the transformational proposals made in 2.5, TMALI's programmes have

covered such aspects as transformation through ubuntu, academic training for leadership development, psychotherapy and preparation against recolonisation.

The analysis of the character of the African church leadership as detailed in 4.6.4.2 and 6.2.3.1.3 points to the serious poorness of this leadership. It is almost impossible for such a poor church leadership to effectively develop a transformational political leadership. Commenting on the role of a leader for success in any enterprise, Kakabadse, Kakabadse and Lee-Davies (2008:1) state: “Countries, Companies, and Cultures rise and fall because of their leaders. Who a leader is and what a leader does defines the future success or failure of all in their custody.” This principle is equally useful for church leaders who can develop the needed socio-political leadership; their character is very important. Insists on the importance of the character of a leader for success, Walker (2008:9) observes:

The inner character of the leader is revealed and written in large letters on the pages of history because unless she has defeated the inner demons, she will never defeat those outside. And that is what gives such leaders their power and their authority: their freedom to be themselves, to be authentic, to choose their own paths.

Barna (2001) and Maxwell (s.a.) call this character leadership or leadership quality because of its special importance. Discussing the role of pastors’ character in discipleship, Barna (2001:97) rightfully observes: “When you have an individual with good skills but little, if any, leadership ability, discipleship fails to get the motivational push it needs”. So, such an important dimension of leadership as self-leadership or character cannot be overlooked. “Character and integrity are indispensable. Character can be defined as self-leadership... If people don’t trust you, they won’t follow you”, states Maxwell (s.a.:12). Taking it further, Van Rensburg (2007:88) states: “The leader has to earn the respect of people for the kind of person he is. It can be said that a person has to be able to lead himself well to be able to lead others well”. Given that the character of the church leader is so important to the success of the development of the needed political leadership for the transformation in the continent, before dealing with the “Socio-political discipleship” in Chapter eight, the next chapter introduces essential characteristics needed for the church developers of the political transformational leadership.

CHAPTER SEVEN

ESSENTIAL CHARACTER TRAITS FOR CHURCH LEADERS WHO CAN DEVELOP TRANSFORMATIONAL POLITICAL LEADERS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter answers the sixth question which is to know what kind of church leadership is needed to be able to contribute to the development of transformational leaders for the continent. It therefore introduces the prerequisites for the church leadership that can effectively develop a transformational leadership. The profile of the leadership as discussed here is based on the long-standing experiences of those who have worked in the field of leadership development and academic research. It is also informed by the weaknesses of church workers as seen in 4.6.4.2 and 6.2.3.1.3. Therefore, this chapter deals with the dimension of the specific agency that can effectively contribute to the development of the needed leadership.

A church leadership with high intellectual, spiritual and socio-political qualities is a necessary prerequisite that is supposed to be an essential catalyst for the needed socio-political transformational leadership. Such a church leadership is a key agent that can catalyse the whole work of the development of the socio-political transformational leadership. It is also expected to play an important role in the surrounding community for an effective socio-political transformation (McDowell & Beliles 2008:190-193). Given the sophistication and the complexity of the church membership and those of the surrounding community in today's society, especially in urban areas, the profile of a church worker needs to be a positively complex one to meet the challenge of the needs of this membership and those of the community at large. The education of such a church worker or leadership, their emotional intelligence and social relationship, morality and Christian character can be expected to be more than up to the day-to-day challenge to be really relevant. Commenting on the exceptionally high cultural and socio-political positions held by the membership of their denomination in today's world and the

education of this membership that is among the highest in the field of politics, economics, academia and medicine, Bellagamba (1992:77) recommends that the ministers of these laity should be very careful about the way they are serving them. They should be aware that the laity are so well prepared professionally and so desirous of proper religious awareness to approach them with proper consideration and preparation, and consultation of other highly skilled and qualified people to serve the laity's needs in a dignified way. Insisting on the use of strong church leadership, Barna (1997:19) observes that a lot of highly qualified laity are leaving churches because of poor spiritual leadership. Such church leadership will be spiritually strong enough to understand and deal with the spiritual concerns of the membership as well as those of the general community effectively. Their moral and/or ethical standing will be such that it deserves a dignified social and moral respect. Their intellectual and cultural maturity will enable them to understand and live with people of different strata easily. Their gender-equity ability and meaning, their ability to understand common and different values and potentials of either sex may well enable them to help each and everyone to transform and flourish effectively for communal transformation. Being prompted by the need to preclude failure resulting from the phenomenon of a poor church leadership in Africa, the chapter does not posit any perfectionism, but rather wishes to assist the African church that will deal with socio-political discipleship (see Chapter 8) and its organisations such as Operaf, and more, to be successful in their endeavour for the development of a leadership for socio-political transformation.

7.2 Empowering profile and character traits

In the following sections I suggest the points that constitute the required profile. These include church worker's personal transformation, spirituality, character and/personality, intellectual abilities and his/her positive consistency in church arenas and in the family environment as they relate to the service. I would also suggest that this profile is a helpful instrument for church workers as well as for any community members working for transformation.

7.2.1 Personal transformation/conversion

Personal transformation of a potential leadership facilitator is an essential trait of the profile which influences her/his worldview, attitudes, behaviours, actions and reactions in life. Considering a strong religious choice for effective contribution to African renaissance in Africa, Banda (2010:7) suggests Christianity as his religion of choice because of its strong teaching on rebirth and renewal, despite its shortcomings. Rebirth and transformation can be facilitated through a socio-political transformational evangelisation where a four-dimensional discipleship is the key element as detailed in the section 8.3.4. This series of discipling activities bespeaks of the four roles or functions of disciple-making through the use of the Bible and the consequent living (Kretzschmar 2008:118-119, 128).

Transformed leaders can understand what Christian conversion is and how it relates to socio-political transformation; they can appreciate it valuably and work for its effective achievement, which is a hard thing for those who have not experienced transformation. This is also the reason why Mutombo-Mukendi (2011:163) advises that only those pastors who are highly informed, watchful, and transformed by the word of Christ can effectively practise political theology. Commenting on what South African leaders have to do in order to provide people facing challenges in the land with vision and hope, Van Rensburg (2007:95) advises: “It implies spiritual, moral and transformational leadership”. This transformation conditions most of the following subsections.

7.2.2 Practical spirituality

The second dimension of the life of a potential leadership facilitator is a liveable and palpable spirituality that people who surround a person can see and benefit from in a concrete way; in practical terms it can be translated into palpable spiritual or social values. People who live out these values are also looked upon as spiritual leaders in their community (Maxwell 2007: iix). Love for others, caring actions and attitudes, practical morality, goodness, humility, respect for human dignity, kindness, love for truth and

justice are among those values (Astin 2004:4; Wellman, Perkins & Wellman 2004:1). These qualities in the life of someone make the person acceptable and his/her work effective. Commenting on unconditional love and its catalysing impact on empowering pastors, Smith (1996:28) then declares:

Unconditional acceptance has a powerful transforming impact. Grace empowers ... because they experienced unconditional love, empowering pastors have been freed to help others discover the power of grace. Listening to someone in order to understand him at a deeper level without conveying a judgemental response in any way is a better way of communicating unconditional love. If people feel that you do not care enough to really understand them, they cannot be convinced that you truly love or accept them.

Unconditional love is absolutely essential for church leaders to be effective communicators of spiritual values that can positively change lives of ordinary Africans and their leaders for socio-political transformation. It is also a specific Christlike trait of character that can be conveyed to others (Maxwell 2007: vii). A hateful and unforgiving church worker can hardly help his/her community or people become really loving or forgiving. Succeeding in their mission as developers of good leaders church workers need to meet certain spiritual requirements. Kretzschmar (2006:338) sees these spiritual requirements in terms of *spiritual formation*. Commenting on the subject, she observes:

The importance of this subject for Christian leaders in churches, mission organisations, para-church groups, business, government and non-governmental organisations is obvious. I argue that without spiritual formation one cannot speak of Christ-like leadership, but only for the promotion of personal or group self-interest lightly masked by a veneer of religious observance. Spiritual formation is indispensable for Christian leaders first because it results in a wider vision of reality and a deepened engagement with society. Second, it enables leaders to live the spiritual and moral vision of the Christian gospel. Third, it helps them to avoid moral and other pitfalls. Fourth, it helps leaders to open the gate to truth, for example, within psychological and business management studies of leadership. Finally, spiritual formation enables leaders increasingly to discern good and evil in the world and to reflect on their own ministries with greater honesty and discernment.

This quote expounds how important is the spiritual formation or spiritual requirement for the leader's own life and ministry, and especially, for the transformation of the lives of many others and of the community.

Studies on prominent African people show that they share a few things in common, especially, good education and money access; they are very prone to materialism and inclined to conflicts and rivalry (Manghezi 1976:75). During my visits to different congregations and interviews with church leaders and African elites, it was noted that many leading Africans of churches characterised themselves as proud, critical people with a head or a cerebral faith (Banza 2003:33). This negative description needs to be countered by church workers because the positive is possible; when these Africans are deeply touched by the word of God and trained by an empowering church worker, they become very serious Christians and precious vessels for the Lord (2 Timothy 2:20-21). The history of the early Congo tells of political leaders Kasa Vubu and Ileu who were so changed to put others first and avoid socio-political evils (Makombo 2004:399). The Bible shows that such prominent people can be won and trained to become precious assets for the up-building and expansion of the Kingdom of the Lord. Nebuchadnezzar and Darius were so deeply touched that they made promulgations glorifying and recommending the only God of Daniel as the unique God of gods and Lord of lords because there was something spiritually exceptional in Daniel (Daniel 3:19-30; 14:18-37; 6:25-28). Zecchaeus was brought to understand the importance of restitution and of ministering to the poor because of what he saw in Jesus Christ, the excellent leader (Luke 19:1-8). Paul came to understand that what he considered valuable before were but loss (Philippians 3:7) and found that serving the Lord was unavoidable responsibility (1 Corinthians 9:16) because of his exceptional experience with God (Acts 9:3-9 ; Galatians 1:10-11). The keeper of the prison and his family remained rejoicing by the Holy Spirit (Acts 16:28-34) and the Ethiopian Eunuch went back with the Good News to Africa joyfully (Acts 8:32-39). The spiritual values of the church leaders have generally been a distinctive factor in the transformation of these individuals.

Christian spirituality develops through the knowledge and observation of the teachings of the Bible. In connection with God's servants or church workers' spirituality and service, the Bible says that Ezra was learning and practising the law of God before

teaching it (Ezra 7:10), and that if anyone resolves to do the will of God, he shall discern his doctrine (John 7:17). To make meditation and study the Bible to grow up spiritually, people need to practise whatever they have already learned from God, otherwise it will be fruitless. Their observation of the Word will be of much profit both for them and for the people they are ministering to, too. The Bible further recommends: “Meditate on these things, give yourself entirely to them, that your progress may be evident to all. Take heed to yourself and to the doctrine. Continue in them, for in doing this you will save both yourself and those who hear you” (1 Timothy 4:12-16). Verry (1973:143) says that it is a well-established principle of Educational Psychology that he who teaches the lessons is at least as significant as the lessons taught. That “Children tend to emulate those who meet their needs, and teach them what they desire to learn”. When church leaders practise the scriptures, it profits both themselves and many other people. By saying: “My food is to do the will of Him who sent me, and to finish His work”, (John 4:34), Jesus underscores the same truth. Doing the will of God as taught in the scriptures comes before ministering to people, even though ministry is also part of the will of God. People will also learn through the good example of the Christian leader.

7.2.3 Personal prayer life for divine intervention

Personal prayer life is something of a paramount value for any ministry, especially, for ministries inherent to leadership development and socio-political transformation. Underscoring the importance of prayer, especially personal prayer or intercession life for church leaders, Bounds (1980:50-51) maintains: “The superficial results of many a ministry, the deadness of others, are to be found in the lack of praying. No ministry can succeed without much praying, and this praying must be fundamental ...”. Insisting on the specific role played by prayer in a ministry, and in particular in the lives of preachers, the same Bounds observes:

God’s true preachers have been distinguished by one great feature: they were men of prayer. Differing often in many things, they have always had a common center. They may have started from different points, and traveled by different roads, but they converged to one point: they were one in prayer. God to them was the center of attraction, and prayer was the path that led to God. These men

prayed not occasionally, not a little at regular or at odd times; but they so prayed that their prayers entered into and shaped their characters; they so prayed as to affect their own lives and the lives of others; they so prayed as to make the history of the church and influence the current of the times. They spent much time in prayer, not because they marked ... , but because it was to them so momentous and engaging a business that they could scarcely give over (:51).

Moody (s.a.:16-17) equally furnishes a full list of God's servants who impacted the world through their prayers and work: Martin Luther prayed for at least four hours whenever he much to do; Charles Finney, George Muller, and many others. David Yongi Cho, the leader of the largest congregation in the world, who, usually spends at least three hours praying. John Wesley who urged his preachers to take 04:00 to 06:00 time for prayer and meditation before going out for ministry (Hunt and Joan1982:80-81). Jesus spent all the night praying before choosing his disciples (Luke 6:12), and got up long before daybreak to pray in a solitary place (Mark 1:35). Paul prayed in tongues more than all (1Corinthians14:18). Accordingly, Bounds (1980:54-60) provides a longer list of those who served and impressed the world with the character of Christ through prayer. The lives and work of Bible characters as Esther (Esther 4:15-17), Nehemiah (Nehemiah 1, 2, 3, 4), Jesus Christ (Mark 1:35), Paul (1 Corinthians 14:8-19), and many others also indicate how personal prayers are of a paramount value for a minister. Through praying they show that they depend on God for the needed wisdom, know-how and action for effective results. This spiritual aspect of collaboration with God needs necessarily a special attention for a prospective church leader.

The personal know-how of church workers can do but too little to really influence the lives of the leaders so as to be able to transform their communities. A careful consideration of how the transformation of the prominent people in the Bible happened helps one to understand that only the Lord knows their true limits and how to change them. The story of Paul's conversion and empowering (Acts 9:1-31) as well as those of the conversion of the Ethiopian Eunuch (Acts 8:26-40), that of Cornelius, the Centurion (Acts 10:1-41), that of the proconsul, Sergius Paulus (Acts 13:4-12), that of Nicodemus going to meet Jesus by night (John 3:1-11), that of Zacchaeus, all eager to see Jesus (Luke 19:1-10), etc. emphasise the place of the direct intervention of God if effectively sought in prayer. All of these examples and more can help understand that

good education, high degrees and personal know-how or multiple ability alone are of little use. But all of this plus our collaboration with the Lord in prayer and full reliance on the Holy Spirit can make our ministry more successful.

Spectacular gifts are some of the attracting and convincing aspects of God's manifestations necessary for the empowering of the spiritual leaders called to work for the transformation of the influential African people. These gifts are equally activated through personal prayers. Such gifts not only attract people's attention to God's greatness and glory, but also convince them of his superiority over evil spirits and powers and of his mighty working in the midst of men in our time to meet their needs and to transform them (Turaki 1999:45). Prayers and full reliance on the Lord and belief in his powerful acts through his Holy Spirit, release such giftings to act mightily to his glory. Speaking of the positive and blissful work of the Holy Spirit in African instituted churches, Allan Anderson says: "The message of the power of the Holy Spirit challenges the evil powers... and the work of Satan ...". And ancestors are confronted as impersonating demons and evil spirits are exorcised in the name of Jesus Christ. The response to sorcerers, witches, evil spirit, etc., involves prayer to the Almighty God for deliverance and protection from their possible emergencies and for the well being found in Christ. God is thus demonstrably more powerful than all (Anderson 2000:377). This was called earlier a holistic proclamation of the gospel, which has changed the face of Christianity in Africa (:375). Anderson further argues that people are not only convinced by the triumphs of Christianity but also by its trials in Africa (:379). All of this is thus dealt with wisely and moderately, leaving the whole room to God for action as he wills.

In his study on "Empowering Pastors" Smith (1996:93-95) shows that prayer and meditation are very valuable for both personal and professional development of church leaders. These two are generally done on a daily basis, the earliest hours of the day being the most favourable. Sometimes retreats, solitudes or quiet times are organised for these purposes. Some of these pastors use an ongoing spiritual dialogue, i.e., praying without ceasing as they go about in their busy days. At least 60% of these pastors also use a spiritual direction as an essential part of their spiritual formation. This was a further empowerment for them to be more efficient in their ministry. A spiritual direction is "a covenant friendship between Christians in which one assists the other in the discernment

of God's presence and the contemplative living out of God's call" (Smith 1996:97-98, Kretzschmar 2006:345). However, some like Russell-Boulton (2000:179-180) contest the term spiritual direction saying:

It is generally accepted these days that "spiritual direction" is a rather unfortunate term. The expression is still commonly used, although many people prefer "spiritual accompaniment". "Spiritual direction" gives the impression that one person is the expert and tells the other in which direction to go in life. It sounds very directive, very authoritarian. However, an alternative understanding of the term "spiritual direction" is about seeking direction in life. Often a person who is looking for meaning and direction finds support in talking to another, often more experienced person. Both enter the relationship in the belief that it is the Spirit of God who gives the direction.

Faithful prayers of church workers and their reliance on the directions of the Holy Spirit are necessary requirements for a successful ministry to socio-political leaders. African leaders as well as those of the world places are better struck by special manifestations of the power of God that can attract them to him and lead them to serious transformation for deep socio-political transformation (Anderson 2000:375-379; Turaki 1999:45).

7.2.4 Unconditional love and acceptance for others

These are necessary requirements for church workers to combat a lot of anti social and political evils; their presence in the life of a church leader can be an effective dynamics that can attract many and impact positively their lives to real transformation. It is also an effective cure even for the political and ethnic conflicts that have characterised the post-colonial Africa (Abdulai 2001:74). Both of these components are intimately linked one to the other and one calls necessarily for the other. Loving or accepting someone unconditionally is not loving or accepting someone because he/she is Black or White, Coloured or Indian, African or European, one from my country, tribe or village, and not even because he/she is nice to me or does good things; but just love or accept him/her without any condition. This is God's love and acceptance pattern. This is of unfathomable value in today's world where most things are done in a biased fashion or under conditions, especially, for Christian leaders. Katongole (2011:170, 171, 176)

explains how because of such love helped Maggy, a Tutsi lady from Burundi, not only to love but also to bring together children and people of adverse social groups and countries, to transform their lives so that they could also love each other and love other people unconditionally.

In his “horizontalising vertical relationships” theory, Nürnberger (1996:160) maintains that Christians should be readily prepared to unconditionally accept even those who have committed any evil, not as a way of condoning their evil but of overcoming it (Job 6:14b). This is one of the outstanding things Nelson Mandela former president of South Africa did to people from the former apartheid government, who had kept him in prison for twenty-seven years; he chose to offer them the gift of forgiveness, accepting them and loving them as fellow country people and friends. After twelve years of study on empowering pastors Smith (1996:26) states: “Empowering pastors love people to whom they minister. They believe in them and trust them. They highly prize what individuals have to offer to the life of the congregation.” Most pastors Smith interviewed maintained, for instance:

You must love your people, enjoy them, brag on them. Show them that you love them before you lead them. Earn a good hearing (the right to have your suggestions taken seriously) by caring greatly for those whom you serve and by doing your best to practise what you preach. Let the congregation know that you love them (:26).

He further states later:

Agape love is unconditional. It flows from grace. Redemptive love accepts me as I am and transforms my weaknesses into strengths. Grace from God becomes a way of life when you pass it through tangible expressions of unconditional love (:27).

The advantage and privilege for a church leader to love and accept people unconditionally, is that people s/he is leading or others will learn both to know God and to love people through God’s love they feel and experiment in the leader and consequently, s/he will earn their confidence and respect. Teaching about love that the leader almost never lives out is really disempowering for others. It creates incredulity

and mistrust. Insisting on the importance of loving and accepting others through respectfully listening to them he later remarks:

Unconditional acceptance has a powerful transforming impact. Grace empowers ... because they experienced unmerited love, empowering pastors have been freed to help others discover the power of grace Listening to someone in order to understand him/her at a deeper level without conveying a judgemental response in any way is a better way of communicating unconditional love. If people feel that you do not care enough to really understand them, they cannot be convinced that you truly love or accept them (:28).

This is one of the best ways of empowering Africans we wish to see caring for others in our communities; it is practical and effective when values are conveyed through real living. People are empowered with God's love and unconditional acceptance through what they are told, what they see in the leader, and what they experience so that they may become able to empower others accordingly and make a real difference. I consider unconditional love as well as Christian character important requirement for the selection of church workers for the development of political transformational leaders. Church leaders who value and/or accept peoples based on their ethnocentrism or any other divisive requirements can hardly develop transformational leaders.

7.2.5 Personality and Christian character

Christian character is an indispensable asset for leadership. Maxwell (2003:12) explains it and its use saying:

Character can be defined as self-leadership. Once you lead yourself well, others may want to follow. It is the foundation on which the leader's life is built. It will begin with character, because leadership operates on the basis of trust. If people don't trust you, they won't follow you.

Personality can be described as the totality of somebody's attitudes, interests, behavioural patterns, emotional responses, social roles, and other individual traits that can endure over long periods of times despite adverse changing circumstances; it is therefore the distinctive or very noticeable characteristics that make somebody socially appealing. The

personality and character of a church leader may play a paramount transformative role on many of their followers. Jesus Christ who had deep understanding of this trait used it effectively through his ministry on earth. To communicate profound insights to his disciples about servant leadership Jesus told them: “Whoever wants to be first must be last and servant of all” (Mark 9:35) and before speaking to them, he set them a pattern through who he was as a leader. “So after he had washed their feet ... He said to them, ...you call Me Master and Lord ... if I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, you also have to wash one another’s feet ...” (John 13:12-15). From these verses we can understand that there are prerequisites to leadership, and a spiritual leader needs to take a model from Jesus himself. S/he needs to have Jesus’ character to become more successful in helping others in becoming transformational leaders. Most prominent people pay almost no attention to empty talks. To be effective, church leaders need to speak the word of God and act accordingly to make Christian character manifest and seal their ministry with real seal of transformation. Supportively, Thomson (1996:45) maintains: “Christian character is the qualification for all of the office...” Defining Servant leadership, Smith (1996: 40) says that “a servant leader is one who leads in order to serve, who serves the highest priority needs of others, and who prizes the contributions of each individual to the whole”. To value other people’s needs and appreciate their contributions require a self-dignified character and personality. He further maintains that “servant pastors lead in such a way that the members of their congregations and the churches themselves grow healthier, wiser, freer, more autonomous and more likely themselves to become servants” (:41). Good personality and servant character lead one to discerning and valuing rightfully the needs of others to look for the best for them (Maxwell 2007:1326-27). Church leaders with perspicacity and practical transforming and empowering abilities as well as a clear knowledge and understanding of the vision of developing transformational leaders are a valuable asset for the work of the development of transformational leaders. Such leaders also need the ability to convert their vision into a clear mission statement to be able to help their constituency to see the way and perceive the objectives pursued without mistake or confusion; leaders’ ability to assist their constituency to accept and love the change and to lead towards becoming transformational leaders is also essential. While Gandhi is reported to be perhaps the best

modern example of transformational leaders, who aroused and elevated the hopes and demands of millions of Indians and whose life and responsibility were enhanced in the process (:20), I consider Jehoshaphat as the best biblical example of such leadership. Being himself a god-fearer in a practical way, Jehoshaphat sent teachers to teach the people the fear of the Lord with result that all were morally enhanced, socially and materially blessed (2 Chronicles 17:7-13).

Empowering pastors enjoy a good personality and are more effective in assessing situations because they listen empathetically thanks to their deep love for people and the character of Christ in their life. They are able to sense the deep-hidden longings of their membership. They discover what others are dreaming and dream with them. Whatever they teach or wish to see their members do, they themselves do it or are readily prepared to do it (Smith 1996:45). Empowering church leaders make more creative use of diverse talents that their different members hold and show more tolerance for theological diversity; not neglecting gifts and talents their constituency have they do not embark emotionally and unnecessarily on theological debates (McDowell & Beliles 2008:129-131). Such leaders believe in the work of other people and deliberately trust them with responsibility. The respect, love and character of Christ motivate them to transformational acts and behaviours. The way both Moses and the children of Israel gained so much just by trusting and sharing power with others is one of the most empowering examples (Exodus 18:15-26). However, these leaders have also to show leadership in knowing exactly who to share power or responsibility with in order not to allow scandals to vitiate their work. Being humble enough to recognise their mistake or to ask other serious spiritual leaders for people intercessory prayers, for instance, is also a powerful value.

The problem of self-esteem is one of the most serious one to enhance the self-esteem of others, transformational church leaders and/or community builders need themselves a high level of self-esteem. Self-esteem is the sum of self-confidence and self-respect (Smith 1996:66). A healthy self-esteem is love for one's own realistic self; it is a healthy self-acceptance and self-value. This is really important for before accepting and loving a neighbour, one has to accept oneself healthily and value realistically what good they want for themselves to be able to do the same good for

others (Matthew 22:29). Commenting on this passage in Matthew 22, MacArthur (1997:1435) observes: “Contrary to some contemporary interpretations, it is not a mandate for self-love... It prompts believers to measure their love for others by what they wish for themselves”. It is then disastrous if there is very little or no self-esteem. When one does not accept oneself, s/he becomes shy, suspicious, and distrustful while being oneself distrusted and suspected. One may thus be hateful of oneself and of others. Speaking of the importance of personality and character, Munroe observes that many have difficult time projecting a good attitude towards others because they feel bad about themselves. “Great positive thinkers and personal motivators, along with psychologists, all agree that if you feel good about yourself, then your attitude toward others will thus be positively influenced by that attitude” (Munroe 1991:107). So, the personality and character of the leader are really crucial for the transformation of others.

7.2.6 Conflict management and proactivity

These requirements are essential for the welfare of church work and for that of the community at large. As seen in the following quote leadership is most needed to preclude problems and/or get effective answers when there are problems. Calling it problem-solving ability, Maxwell (2007:1397) observes: “Problem-solving is the fastest way to gain leadership”. This is even more important for the community like our own in Africa where we face various conflict challenges on a daily basis: interpersonal conflicts, ethnic conflicts, political conflicts, borders and other inter-nation conflicts. The ability to manage conflict skilfully is one of the most important values/qualities for empowering and transformational pastors (Smith1996:64). Their ‘Word-empowering’ ability (ability developed through appropriate Bible preaching or teachings) helps them equip others with the knowledge, which enhances their Christian life to the extent that conflict occurrences are rare, and their resolutions easy (Smith1996:129-130). This is more important for those who have to deal with prominent people of the community, people who have got to train those who generally give orders to others and tend to dominate them, and who most likely are prone to pride, selfish passions and ambitions and superiority complex, things which often create conflicts among people (James 4:1-2,

Proverbs 13:10, Proverbs 28:25-26). Manghezi (1976:75) says that intra-elite conflicts are quite common; that African elites tend to have repeated rivalries. This statement shows again how necessary conflict management is to church workers.

7.2.7 Interdependence

This is a necessary quality that enables people to trust each other, to collaborate and achieve important team work. Effective leadership is essentially a team work; I think that is why Maxwell (2007:351) concludes: “No leader succeeds on his own ...” Operaf (2008:6) is correct to set “ability to collaborate with other leaders” as a requirement for the post of “political pastorate”. Very often when people who are unable to make an independent decision for important things in their lives and carry them out (dependent people) and people who feel free to make choice decisions for their lives and those of their communities (independent people) are called to work together, it becomes, to some extent, a problem because mutual actions and collaboration will suffer. Sometimes there are repeated problems in the church or church leadership or community organisations because of this. Dependence causes passivity, laziness, discouragement, frustration and much loss. Likewise, separatist independence is against communal good and collaboration. It also causes frustration, anger, dispute and favours selfish actions and ambitions. But when someone is independent and learns and secures the ability to work corporately with others without trying to dominate them or to take unnecessary credit for accomplishment, s/he becomes interdependent. Describing the sources of interdependence, Smith (1996:126-129) asserts that effective interdependence is necessarily built on the foundation of true independence. Collaboration and interdependence depend on trust of self and the trust of those with whom one collaborates. Church leaders who have this ability can convey it well to people under their leadership both through sermons or teachings and naturally through their living with others.

Interdependence is an important trait of character for an African leadership developer since the prominent people generally like true and free spiritual leadership: people free to make choice and decisions on important matters, but also able to protect

and defend them and to wisely convince others for communal good and to collaborate efficiently without friction (Mugambi & Magesa 1989:51). This would also help them get empowered with wisdom, humility and the spirit of collaboration so that they may subsequently empower many others.

7.2.8 Intellectual abilities

This requirement is important for the church leaders to be able to understand African and global economic, ecological, psychosocial and socio-political challenges of the day to develop the needed abilities in people in order to meet those challenges. Speaking of the church in the Third World, Munroe (1991:152) says:

The church in the Third World must begin to take responsibility for its own people and appreciate that they have the potential to write their own songs and books and to design and develop indigenous curricula for Christian education, leadership training, resource management and financial autonomy and accountability... We have the responsibility to deposit the wealth of our potential in this generation so that the next generation can build their future on our faithfulness to becoming everything we can possibly be.

This call to responsibility is at the same time a call to full potentiality. We have to change our present generation and thus prepare the future to definite betterment. This requires what Burns (1978:142) would call “intellectual leadership”, i.e., people readily prepared to deal with both analytical and normative ideas, resulting in the transformation of their social milieus. Spiritual leaders need, apart from their spiritual gifts, talents and calling, enough intellectual abilities to read, understand and write with much proficiency, at least, one “international language” to be able to glean information from the radio, television, internet, from both Christian or theological and non-theological books, and to communicate skilfully with the local people and outside world. To design and develop indigenous curricula for Christian education, leadership training, resource management, and financial autonomy and accountability, for example, requires more knowledge and understanding in these fields and many others, or at least, enough ability to make personal research into these domains and understand, in order to subsequently design something meaningfully transformational for one’s community.

Higher intellectual abilities are even of greater importance for those who intend to develop good leaders for their communities, people most of who, have had good education, read much and have been through various learning experiences. This would help one learn and understand what influences them psychologically, socio-culturally and spiritually in order to take them to better socio-cultural and spiritual standings through building bridges, for instance. Bridge building, here, is a method generally used to preach or teach the Word of God with connected applicability to the world in which we live in order to relate the preaching to the major themes of life and the major issues of the day. Therefore, one can then start on God's side of the ravine for instance. They can sink thus one pylon of the bridge into the bedrock of God's Word, reading the scriptures and meditating in depth and using all the auxiliaries possible. In other words, the Bible must be and is read in the proper context. After exegeting the scriptures, the human life must now be exegeted by reading the books, newspapers, magazines, and other related materials. Then, church leaders can write and read, listen to their members, listen to the radio and television, spend enough time with their membership and attend some of their social and cultural events. This is then sinking the pylon of the bridge deep into the soil of humanity and the world to complete the building of the bridge. When talking to them, one can even ask them about their dreams, hopes, hurts and even the themes they would like to hear preached or taught about or else they would like to develop if they were to do so. Now the Word and the context can be correlated to work in full-connected applicability. Personal knowledge of God, the understanding of his Word, the knowledge of self, that of others, of the time and context, help to better build transformative bridges (Smith 1996:14-15). This leads to a meaningfully holistic and contextual ministry to the people to be ministered to. It can also be said that humility goes along with a continuous learning spirit. A church leader can ask questions and learn from his/her church membership. Finzel (1997:279) observes that

leaders who serve humbly admit that they do not even know half of the answers. You can provide a strong leadership and direction for an organisation but still cultivate a learning spirit in all the members. If you believe your followers are your greatest resource, you will listen to them and teach them to listen to others.

Hans Finzel is thus suggesting the easiest way for the humble leaders to both develop personal humility spirit and help others develop theirs. Concerning the importance of knowing the people to serve before ministering to them the Bible urges, for instance, “Be diligent to know the state of your flocks, and attend to your herds” (Proverbs 27:23). So, it is an important assignment for church workers to do their best to know their flocks better in order to serve them better. Some of the empowering pastors interviewed by Smith (1996:86) read up to eighty books related to deeper understanding of the members and their contexts a year to be able to build bridges which are more comprehensive of their audience’s socio-cultural life. Most of these pastors lived in American cities and towns where access to sources of information posed no problem, which is not the case for most of today’s African cities. However, this problem is getting close to complete resolution thanks to Information Technology Communication as concerns Africans who have access to the Internet.

7.2.9 Psychology of consistency

The need for consistency is absolutely vital because of many negative experiences I have had with African church leaders, many of who were also involved in leadership development for socio-political transformation. In this subsection a psychology of consistency is a psychological readiness dictated by a disciplined mind power for effective achievement and purposeful spirit. Positive attitude and consistency are essential qualities for a church leader to remain consistently aware of his/her responsibility or task and try to fulfil it in words and deeds at any time and in any place (Smith 1996:17). The same can be observed in the life of Jesus and his ministry. He went about all the cities and villages, teaching in synagogues, preaching and healing, praying and encouraging people to pray for the work of God (Matthew 9:35-38), always feeling compassion for the weak and disempowered people and meeting their needs (Matthew 14:14, 19-20). His eyes and heart were constantly focused on his empowering duty when listening to people (Luke 13:1-5) and while he answered their questions (John 3:1-21) in order to bring them to the empowering ground in order to reach his set empowering objectives. It is also what is meant when Hunt and Joan (1982:42) says that theological

education takes place everywhere Christians gather to worship and learn God's ways. This means, may it be, in homes, church building or schools, one needs to be consistent in behaviour, acts, words and deeds.

Experience proves that empowering spiritual leaders with a constant positive outlook constantly focus their eyes on the truth rather than on the fact, on the object of pursuit (development of transformational leadership, in this particular case) rather than on facts (Smith 1996:17). Facts here, for instance, may be many apparent limitations in Africa, various African incapacities, or personal poverty of someone involved in a project or that of the whole community, or any other apparent inability. The truth is generally a physically invisible reality, what God says of that situation or person or people; it can equally be a specific vision of Africa God has given you, what God has put in your heart as in the case of Nehemiah 2:12. Or else as Thabo Mbeki did on the awarding of his honorary doctorate at Addis Ababa University, establishing relationship between the modern African liberation movement that first emerged in South Africa by the end of the 19th century by first African leaders who established independent churches and Psalm 68:31, observing that "these early modern African intellectual derived inspiration from the passage in Psalm 68", which states that princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch out her hands to God (Mbeki 2010:1). When church workers are prophetic in their attitudes, behaviours and words, encouraging people to challenge the existing order and seek the radical change of the unjust social structures thanks to a clear and deep discernment, they just deal with their assigned duty properly (Dorr 1990:16). Such consistency is what people around Bishop Taban, Angeline and Maggy, who were "crazily" determined to transform their communities against all odds, saw in them, as reported by Katongole (2011:193-194). This reported "craziness" allowed them to reached outstanding success in the transformation of the lives of people in their individual communities.

The positive attitude of the heart of church leaders expressed through their mouths strengthens both themselves and the people to be ministered to in order to face the apparent impossibility with force and determination. Commenting on effective contribution of positive words to leadership development, Maxwell (1999:116) concludes: "Therefore...positive assumptions about others will stimulate positive

leadership of them”. Purposefully, speaking of city, De Beer (1998:13) observes supportively: “We would not be effective in engaging the city, if we look at the city through condemning eyes”. The truth expressed for the city here, holds also for individuals. For cities suppose first of all, people living in their midst.

This subsection intends to discourage enrolling, for the development of the transformational African leadership, those “black” African church leaders who seem to be unconsciously hostile to “black” people and often speak negatively of them. This attitude and behaviour betray a serious lack of consistency in their work. The following are a few examples of their negative talking as reported in (Banza 2003:41-42). Some of these are, unfortunately, from people involved in the development of the leadership for the transformation of Africa. A highly theologically-educated black African, lauding John Calvin and Martin Luther’s work, but who in the end concluded that black people never did anything important in the field of theology; because “Blacks are nothing”. His colleague who was also able to declare in diverse public that black people have been “cursed” indeed; they will always be poor; that they are worth burning and destroying completely. Then another pastor alleged that “Blacks are wicked liars” who cannot be corrected; white people never lie except those who have been living with Blacks. They uttered all of such negative words in a diverse public of “black” Africans. It is not impossible, but it is at least difficult for such church leaders to upbuild other Blacks to effective transformational leadership because they lack conviction and energy for such an endeavour. Wink (1986:107) wishing to urge his fellow Americans to become successful in the deliverance of his people says: “Learn to love your nation’s soul, and do not let its perversions of its destiny turn your heart away”. And he even further urges them saying:

We cannot minister to the soul of America unless we love its soul. We cannot love its soul faithfully and truly, without sinking into idolatry, unless we have correctly discerned its true vocation under the God who holds the destiny of all the nations. And we cannot discern that calling unless we know the angel who bears the message of what the nation might become (Wink 1986:105).

So, to efficiently minister to these African Blacks, however evil or cursed they might seem to be, church workers have first of all to heartily love them, try to seek God’s destiny for them and keep their eyes on that destiny rather than on what the fact seems to

be. Otherwise, one can preach and teach the congregation but because they are black, no one or at least very few will ever change because their church leaders believe and tell them that they are this or such evil to become good. And it is also possible to see what the Bible says pass in one way or another; it states, for example: “Let it be done to you as you desire” (Matthew 15:28). The true mission of such pessimistic African church leaders who speak negatives but work anyway for transformation is uncertain; and their real desire remains unsettled. They engage themselves in a very confused mission where failure and success claim priority. And because no better things are expected of the black Christians by their church leaders, no better will ever come out of them since the natural and ordinary speech of their very church leaders convinces them that that is the black people’s way of living. The confused attitudes and actions as well as contradictory behaviours and speaking of such church leaders can be motivated by their own lack of complete deliverance from the same collective sins as argued by Tshilenga (2005:196).

The attitudes of such pessimistic church leaders are destructive and never uplifting. Proverbs 18:21 reads: “Death and life are in the power of the tongue...” And it is a well-known psychological principle that people, mostly those over whom one has power or authority, generally become what their leaders say they are. In the same vein Maxwell (1999:119) maintains: “People tend to become what the most important people in their lives think they will become”. I regretfully consider what these church leaders think these African people will become is what they often become. In this particular case of pessimistic church leadership, they have more than a symbolic congregational authority on the congregation. Given that the assumed objective is empowerment, church workers can try to be the most positive and optimistic possible in their language and attitude. Negative languages and attitudes naturally disempower and create inferiority complex in people and never build them up. Fanon (1967:25) observes specifically that black people’s inferiority complex is particularly intensified among the most educated ones, who must struggle with it increasingly; so, there is no reason why the situation must be worsened again. The Angel of God who understood this principle well, when calling Gideon to send him to deliver the children of Israel from the Midianites, qualified him (Gideon) of the mighty man of valour though Gideon himself did not believe he was one (Judges 6:12–16). To all such “unaware and careless destroyers” of other African

people's lives, Enrique San Pedro (1991:146) wisely advises: "... it requires from all of us, but especially from the pastor and the theologian, to avoid destructive and scandalous attitudes, behaviours, utterances..."

Some of the misdeeds committed by African political leaders can well be understood when one considers what the Bible says about human heart and nature instead of blaming everything on black skin or race. Jeremiah 17:9 says, for example, "The heart is deceitful above all things, and desperately wicked; who can know it?". As long African governments fail to have strong institutions that can protect people and defend their rights, their leaders can but allow themselves to be doing such things as embezzling public funds and other violations of other people's rights. Considering that human beings are more important than good institutions and that good governments depend on good human beings, McDowell & Beliles (2008:4-6) suggest developing people with real Christian character who can form effectively strong institutions and respect them. In this case it is not a matter of counting millions or billions of people who simply claim to be Christians, because we already have many of them but who do no difference socio-politically in the continent, but of having true god-fearing Christians in words and deeds. Carnal Christians living after natural human desires (1 Corinthians 3:1-4; Hebrews 5:12-14) or people who lack in spirituality or social values (Astin 2004:4; Wellman, Perkins & Wellman 2004:1) will never do any significant difference socio-politically and spiritually. Lack of practical spirituality and Christian character can be blamed for African leaders' misdeeds most rather than their skin colour or race and the continent they are from; for the same misdeeds are also found in the lives of leaders of other races and continents as indicated below. Even worse some of these misbehaviours and misdeeds were "taught" them by leaders of other nations and continents as seen in 5.3. Shah of Iran embezzled millions of US\$ and filled foreign banks with them, without being neither black nor African. Khmer Rouge leaders killed a million, mostly of the elite of their own people without being either black or African. One can always remember what President Tito of Czechoslovakia did to his own people more than two decades ago, and that went on for years. American Whites almost exterminated American Indians and go on discriminating against them, against African Americans and against other American minorities till today. Swiss bankers (and government) have cheated millions of

dollars from Jewish people and from African political leaders and from whoever other could steal in his or her country and harbour it in their banks. President Saddam Hussein of Iraq and his government had been ill-treating Iraqi Kurds and other minority people of the country for years. This is indeed a human sinfulness problem rather than African one (Jeremiah 17:9).

As a Christian or a Christian leader one has to know that the Bible says: “For the lips of a priest should keep knowledge, and people should seek the law from his mouth, for he is the messenger of the Lord of Hosts” (Malachi 2:7). Commenting on this, MacArthur says that in Israel priests were not only to represent people to God but also they had to represent God to the nation by teaching His law to them (1997:1363). This verse shows that a servant of God is the keeper and steward of the law of God, and his representative to the world, both in words and deeds (1 Peter 2:9). When his/her lips are open it is to empower people; and when people approach him/her it is to communicate them the wisdom of God. This most Africans expect of the servant of God when they approach him/her with a problem or just to listen to her/him as a steward of God’s spiritual wealth. They are disappointed when they do not find it in the servant. Along the same lines the Bible urges, “If anyone speaks let him speak as the oracles of God” (1 Peter 4:11). So, as servants of God, Christians will learn how to measure their words and weigh their speech. They will not therefore speak just for the sake of it. Sometimes it is common to hear African Christians complain after talking with a pastor or any other church leader, saying that “this is not a servant of God. S/he is so vulgar in speech” because of the neglected behaviours and speech of the servant. Christians therefore become distrustful, especially, when they are committed to their faith like those Gerloff (2000:371) speaks of, observing:

Undoubtedly African Christian communities among us are more firmly committed to their faith, and they are more knowledgeable in the Bible than any average European Christian congregant in spite of the biblical tradition of the reformation.

This observation is true in many ways. Many among African Christians are deeply committed to their faith and highly knowledgeable in the Bible not only in Europe but

also in Africa. For those of whom Gerloff is speaking here, most of them left Africa with that commitment to the Lord and that knowledge of the Word. These elements can easily help them discern and know what is what or who is who, as the Bible also says that man is revealed by his heart or words from his heart (Proverbs 27:19).

Wise church leaders can easily use talks soaked or saturated with the Word of God to avoid vulgar and unedifying speeches. Such talks are well soaked with scriptures that can build up people and transform their lives and prepare them for the transformation of their entire communities. This is something more honouring and trust-building for a church leader and a servant of God and more edifying for the people they are ministering to. Jesus was no vulgar man when speaking or acting (Luke 4:22; John 7:46); his servants can well be his imitators (Ephesians 5:1). The following subsection concerns the direct entourage of the church worker and its importance for the work of developing good leaders.

7.2.10 God-fearing household

Personal household or family occupies the first place in the African context; it keeps this important position in most contexts, religious and otherwise, and in different communities. Considering a considerable role Abraham was to play as God's servant and sign of blessing to many, God orders: "For I have known him, in order that he may command his children and his household after him, that they keep the way of the Lord, to do righteousness and justice, that the Lord may bring to Abraham what He has spoken to him" (Genesis 18:19). This scripture underlines the will of God to see his servants teach his law to their families but also to everyone in their homes to be able to do it. Because by doing so the Lord will fulfil his promises on them. The passage underlines especially the recommended behaviours and lifestyle of the family of God's servants, church workers or missionaries in today's context. Describing the importance of family, McDowell & Beliles (2008:104) observes the following:

The family is the basic building block of society. As is the family in a nation, so is the church, state, education, business, arts, and life of that nation. The home is the

first sphere of society and not only determines the foundation of these components of society, but also determines the extent to which they prosper.

The moral problems which plague the nations today may be attributed to neglect of the young by parents. It is in the home where people are instilled with godly character and a biblical worldview, both of which are necessary to support free, just, and prosperous nations. The goal of the Christian home in a republic is to love and nurture the young, build individual character, and train future generations to govern the earth.

Concluding his argument on the importance of the family in a community or a nation, McDowell & Beliles advise stating: “As Christians seek to reform the nations, they must never underestimate the importance of the family in the life of the nations” (:105).

Besides, this is one of the places where dualistic and/or secularism signs that Van der Walt (2001:106) speaks against are the most manifest in the lives of Africans, especially, in the lives of church leaders, many of who are so zealous to teach the will of God and correct things they believe to be against this will to others. But the same forget or neglect to do the same things when it comes to their own families and people they seem to love more. On the contrary, they defend evil deeds of such people and take the most care to keep such evils secret, which is not quite profitable. Such selective ethical behaviours and principles are never recommendable for leaders (Maxwell 2007:1641). Personal household is the primary and direct environment of influence; it is the place where one lives, learns the will of God, uses it and initially practises it. Though it is where you and the family live, it is also your family and your home. You have a primary social responsibility to care for your spouse and children, if any, in a comprehensive way. Spiritually, it makes no exception; the family needs primary necessary empowerment in terms of knowing God, fearing him or practising his Word and serving him.

Insisting on the importance of cultivating and internalising his commandments, God orders the children of Israel saying: “And these words which I command you today shall be in your heart. You shall teach them diligently to your children, and shall talk of them when you sit in your house ... You shall write them on the doorposts of your house and on your gates” (Deuteronomy 6:6-9). The people were to think about the commandments and meditate on them so that their obedience to God would be a response based on deep understanding and conviction. The commandments were equally

to be the subject of continual conversation both inside and outside the home and taught to children to secure a transgenerational faith in God and his true fear both in the family and in the community at large (MacArthur 1997:260). Such were commendable dispositions and actions for any God-fearing person towards the family members. Joshua aware of this told the children of Israel that he and his house would serve only the Lord (Joshua.24:15). When one does not care about empowering his/her family for God's glory, consequences are unavoidable. The Lord had to execute his wrath against Eli's house without mercy (1 Samuel 2:13-36; 3:11-21). Samuel's perverse sons' lives caused the children of Israel to protest against the leadership system and claim the change (1 Samuel 8:1-6), which did not please God.

Speaking of the choice of church leaders, the Bible says also that "they should rule their own house well, having their children in submission with all reverence for if a man does not know how to rule his own house, how will he take care of the church of God?" (1Timothy 3:4-5). This is to say that the leaders should also be able to engage their household into obeying God and practising his Word. More than once I have seen African Christians deserting congregations just because an important member of the church leader's house committed a scandalous act. Church leader's life and ministry are generally tied together with his/her family's. This does not mean that humans are perfect, but that gross scandals can be avoided for the spiritual and socio-political benefits of many. If a church leader or a member of their restricted family commits a scandalous act, it is sometimes hard for the church leader to efficiently teach, preach or exhort other people against the same misdeed to proper spiritual development unless there has been serious repentance. Prominent Africans, Christians or not, are generally a bit critical and proud (Banza 2003:32-34). So, it is essential to deny them a room for blasphemy. For, if they start murmuring against church leaders and/or their family, or if they become distrustful or even if they desert the church or congregation, training them will no longer be possible. And all the good programmes prepared and all the projects put in place for their training and development into transformational leaders will fail. Developing transformational leaders requires people who can stand as role models (Mathafena 2007:74). When somebody is unable to care about the life of an individual, it is almost

impossible to care about a community or a whole nation, for example. Consequently, Smith (1996:59) observes that

the person of the minister is the principal tool of pastoral ministry. It is the pastor's integrity, positive approach, and Christian example that are most important to parishioners and colleagues. What counts is pastor's generosity, sensitivity, warmth, ability to establish trusting relationship ... and to admit mistakes and his willingness to learn.

The words above, Smith wrote as a conclusion in order to underline the importance of empowering pastors as living models for Christ's teachings. Doesn't Paul say, "Imitate me, just as I also imitate Christ?" (1 Corinthians 11:1).

The analysis and study of the character of the people especially called by God for the transformation of the lives of others in the section above leads smoothly to considering the sources African churches can use for the development of ethical political leaders in the continent, especially in DR Congo.

7.3 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the possible profile of the church transformational leadership that can use effectively a four-dimensional discipleship to produce transformational people who can be effective for the church leadership, socio-political leadership and for socio-political transformation in the larger community. Their personal transformation, values, Christian character and professional abilities would allow them to prevailingly pray for the transformation of the church and that of their communities and teach Bible principles as well as other needed skills to their people and working effectively for the needed transformation as did the Korean church (Cox 1995:239-240).

The description of the mission of Maggy Barankitse and Maison Shalom in Burundi shows Maggy saying: "She speaks of having two sick relatives, the Burundi community and the church, both of whom need healing" (Katongole 2011:175). This is also the situation for the leadership of the African church and that of the African political world, who are both sick. So, with 50% of the effective political leadership as indicated by the 2011 Ibrahim Index of African Governance (www.moibrahimfoundation.org), the

political world seems in much better shape than the African church leadership, which seems sicker than the political leadership if we apply Maxwell's 5% of effective church leadership to it. That is also why my next chapter will focus more on how an African church can develop the kind of people the church and the African community at large can use for deeper and better transformation by using a systematic four-dimensional discipleship.

Cox (1995:239-240) observes fortunately that the Korean church has played a very significant role in the transformation not only of Korea but also of the whole region, which is an evidence that churches with a transformational leadership can transform individuals, communities and nations. The same encouragement can be seen in the appraisal of the contributions made by Bishop Desmond Tutu and many other church leaders to the democratisation process in South Africa (Mutombo-Mukendi 2011:103-110; Borer 1998:1-2). A mission of the projects which are proposed in chapter 8 is to prepare for such a leadership. A transformational church leadership can use their values, abilities and qualities to be able to apply a four-dimensional discipleship successfully; in chapter 8 the African Socio-political and Proactive Church is supposed to produce a sustainable transformational leadership both for the African church and for the African community at large. Describing the transformational work done by Bishop Taban and two lay ladies Angelina and Maggy in their three different contexts, Katongole (2011:197) indicates that the success in the enterprise required not only a specific church vision and context but also a specific type of Christians to do the job. This is also the meaning of having specific church leaders to work for a specific purpose in a specific church environment as it is the case in Chapter Eight.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SOCIO-POLITICAL DISCIPLESHIP AS AFRICAN POLITICAL THEOLOGY

8.1 Introduction

This chapter is the culmination of the missiological praxis cycle where the strategic planning is developed. Both the seventh subsidiary question and the main research question, which is to know how the African churches can contribute to the development of a political leadership for socio-political transformation can be answered. The eighth chapter introduces another important aspect of the development of a political leadership for the socio-political transformation of Africa that considers including proactive preparation of good citizens for both the church and the community at large. It suggests practical things that local as well as global churches and the surrounding community can do to nurture Christians and community people into persons who can contribute effectively to socio-political transformation. This particular aspect of leadership development is important for socio-political transformation as well as it is also basic for proper living as dignified citizenry of the kingdom of God in the human community. The chapter underscores the development of the people fit for the dignified public service to the community, people who can be the salt of the earth and light of the world (Kalemba 2011:12; Mutombo-Mukendi 2011:163). The development of such people is better than any other method for socio-political transformation (Mostert 2007:149). Hauerwas (1995:42, 46-47) equally recommends the development of people who can be responsible Christians in their living with others. This can be done through a special type of church as envisaged in 4.8.4 and 7.3. There is a need for a transforming church for Africa, a socio-political and proactive church, which would proactively take responsibility for spiritual and socio-political problems prevailing in the African community to strive with them for effective solutions. Such is the context where a transformational church leadership can effectively work using a four-dimensional discipleship for the needed leadership for socio-political transformation.

As discussed in 4.8, Bafinamene's African church typology and Joseph's suggestion in 4.8.5 reveal a deep and serious problem of the lack of the vision for the transformation of the African community through the action of the church. When I look at the church with a transformational intent as Bafinamene did, I can suggest that the African continent also need a *proactive and socio-political church* that can consider carefully deep African transformation problems, analyse them in order to efficiently contribute to their resolution for effective and deep transformation in the continent. This African church would also be what Simons (1995:xiii) calls *public church*, which includes believers from many different Christian traditions and which is united by a desire to rescue religious belief from an exclusive concern with the private realm, and that engages its meaning in the wider public and social realm because of the common centre, the Lord Jesus Christ, the Saviour. Such an African church would stand for a strong community whose social mission respects the legitimate autonomy of other social institutions, accepts responsibility for the well-being of the wider society, and commits itself to work with other social institutions in shaping the common good of the African society.

Borrowing from biblical examples, wisdom of the context and scholarly experiences of researchers and church workers, I wish to propose four main projects to the African churches for the development of the leadership for the transformation of Congo, in particular, and that of Africa, in general. It is through these proposals and especially through their practical applications that the discipleship is carried out; such discipleship programmes aim at the integration of the head knowledge of the Bible into the actual day-to-day living to develop the needed character in humans for socio-political transformation (Barna 2001:90-93). My proposing these projects to African churches does not however suggest that the churches alone can successfully do the job, or that the churches on their own can bring about the necessary transformation. On the contrary, knowing that these African communities used to develop their servant political leaders and conduct their affairs in a dignified fashion (Gordon 2002:2-3), I wish to indicate as signaled earlier that having been part of the destructive and exploiting powers in Africa for years (Mugambi 1995:225), if the African churches can reinvent themselves and take charge of the transformation of African communities good results are possible. One of the

reasons the churches' prior self-transformation is needed is their massive confused spirituality and deity; they sometimes say one thing and do another or preach one god as the true one, but serve a different one through their actions and behaviours (Kä Mäna 2001:35-36). This contradiction and their use of dualistic or split theologies and spiritualities (Kretzschmar 2006:252) prevent them from doing a better job. The other reason is that African church leaders, especially those of the DR Congo churches have been leaders in at least three main sins, namely, corruption, tribalism and siding with dictatorial systems (Tshilenga 2005:195-196). The fact that these sins have been part of the churches for decades or even centuries is a serious handicap for the development of any effective transformational leadership. Yet, the situation calls for practical solutions from the leadership of the African churches to eradicate this spiritual and social scourge.

Katongole (2011:44-47) warns African churches against the danger of falling in the current trap of seeking social relevance through behaving more like NGOs rather than effective churches. He suggests that effectively transforming churches behave responsibly and remain relevant through operating within their spiritual and socio-political mandate of making Christ's true disciples. The disciples such churches develop are able to lead a healthy social and political life. It is for such a challenge that this socio-political discipleship has been proposed as the necessary tool in this chapter.

As mentioned earlier, this chapter includes four projects that are essential for effective socio-political transformation. The first one is about effective use of prayer, especially, interceding for the needed transformation or practising socio-political intercession; the second is about intentional application of socio-political evangelisation where a four-dimensional discipleship is discussed; the third is about psychological and socio-political remedy and the fourth is about getting involved in the community life and involving the community itself for the proper transformation.

8.2 Intercession for socio-political transformation

The first proposal is about the role of intercession for politically, economically, socially, culturally and spiritually-ruined communities like that of DR Congo. I start with the project on socio-political intercession because it allows, as indicated in 2 Chronicles 7:14,

the people of God first to humble themselves and confess their sins, to pray seeking God's face, and turn from their wicked ways, before seeing God heal their land (Prince 2000:56). It is essential for churches to confess their corruption, duplicity, and complicity with dominating and exploiting powers during the colonial period, during the Mobutu's regime and up to the present day if they are to make a new start as part of God's mission in society. Congolese churches have almost always been part of the exploitation triumvirate of the state, church, economic and financial companies through decades and even centuries as already explained in Chapter Four. Supportively, Katongole (2011:103) also indicates that African churches have been in this "guilty" complicity for decades in most of the continent. The prior confession of the churches is essential to see God healing the country because sin separates people from God. Ezekiel 22:23-31 reporting on the spiritual and ethical condition of the leadership of Jerusalem that was totally ungodly in behaviours, corrupt and uncaring, presents God advising a strong intervention through a faithful intercession of his people. The condition of the people of Jerusalem was so bad that no other person than their God himself could help; he thus urged them to cooperate with him and show him how serious and caring they were about the welfare of their people. The prophets, priests, princes as well as the common people were so bad to varying degrees that God's direct intervention was the only hope. I consider such an intercession as an act of cooperating with God rather than struggling with him as it happened in the case of Jacob who fought with the Angel of the Lord in Genesis 32:24-32 and Hosea 12:4-5 because here it is the God of deliverance himself who, before punishing, invites those who can pray for the deliverance of their people to do so. It is not a manipulative action either. Isaiah 59:15-16 equally suggests the same cooperation; God is appalled when no one intercedes, but also readily prepared to take a punitive action against the rebellious people. Mbeki (2012b) insists that the leader Africa needs now is somebody who has enough knowledge and ability to understand the needs and respond practically in an adequate way. In connection with the proposals in 2.5, an informed church leader using Ezekiel 22:23-31, for example, can speak to the Congolese of the situation of that time Jerusalem, Juda and then of the situation of the leadership of the Congo, of its history and of the current "international complicity" as seen in chapter 4.

Ultimately, some contextual-sensitive education is carried out; psychological healing can take place; and neo-colonial and anti-recolonisation preparation can be realised.

In today's Congo more than 90% of the highest political, legislative posts and the like, have been held by Christians of some kind (Muluma 2002:131-134); the leadership of different religions, especially, that of the church, occupy various leadership positions in political institutions, business firms, state organisations as well as in non-government organisations (Mutombo-Mukendi 2011:95-99). The common denominator is that they are hardly any different from non-believers operating in the same positions in terms of Christian character and unethical behaviours and attitudes (Gifford 1998:341-343). The analysis of Tshilenga's three main sins as mentioned earlier shows how grave is the situation of the African churches and their leadership, and the urgency for not only re-education for better results but also for more prevailing intercession for their transformation (Wagner 1997:292-294).

With reference to Mutombo-Mukendi (2005:119-122) this Congolese leadership is no better than the Jewish one of Ezekiel 22. In such a case it is convenient to emphasise that intercession for the transformation of the church leadership is more important than and prior to that of the political leadership; the spiritual revitalisation of the Congolese church leadership can decide on how church people may organise and conduct intercession and the whole work of socio-political transformation. The intercession for the church leadership would consist in praying for their four-dimensional transformation and the ability to lead others to such a transformation, for unconditional love for others and sacrificial spirit. It would also be for justice, for forgiveness and compassion, for spiritual discernment and sensitivity, for the development of their self-leadership or character and integrity (Maxwell (s.a.:12) and for the conviction and ability to develop transformational leaders, for their prayerfulness and team or cooperation spirit. It would also consist in praying against unbelief and sterile intellectualism, secularism and greed, arrogance, bitterness and vengeful spirit, negative criticism and ungratefulness.

Though some would consider the contribution of intercession as abstract, hard to measure and useless, Murray (s.a.) esteems it very important and considers it as a measure of godly being and living. Intercession for leadership transformation is so

important for socio-political good that 1 Timothy 2:1-4, 8 invites Christians of Ephesus to say varieties of prayers on behalf of everyone, of kings and of all those who are in authority in order for the Christians to lead a godly, peaceable and honest life. This passage reveals important aspects of transformation which include personal, interpersonal and socio-political conversion; spiritual as well as intellectual and moral transformation is equally included to show how serious socio-political intercession is essential for individuals and communities. The passage equally points to a very important quality of a prevailing intercession, which is perseverance through various types of prayers: supplications, prayers, intercessions and thanksgivings. The eighth verse adds other qualities which are holiness and faithfulness, all of which need a due consideration in such a prayer. Commenting on the passage, MacArthur (1997:1862) observes that Paul asks Ephesian Christians “even to pray for the salvation of the Roman emperor, Nero, a cruel and vicious blasphemer and persecutor of the faith”. This suggests that today’s Christians have equally to pray even for their wickedest leaders to be transformed. Praying for kings and all those who are in authority means calling God’s blessing on the whole people and not for the leaders to be selfishly enjoying the power (Vischer 1980:23; Vasey 1981:23). Such interceding can trigger a spiritual revival such that people’s intellectual, psychological, spiritual, ethical and social life gets totally transformed as noted at Charles Finney’s prayer revivals (Duewel 1995:105).

King David was a proactive leader who knew the importance of rendering good service to his people. Recognising his human limits to develop a king who would act for the total good of the people and above all acknowledging the strong bonds between spiritual powers and political leadership, David prayed to ask God for a king who would care for the needy of the people, defend their rights, work for social justice and economic and political peace (Psalms 72:1-4; 12-14). Though intercession for leaders is so important, only few Christians or 5% pray effectively for their leadership (Christian or political) (Wagner 1992:40; Prince 2000:40-41). The problem of poor Christian intercession will require church leaders and/or the Department of Intercession¹⁵ to work hard so as to get the most people or all other departments of the church involved in such

¹⁵ The Department of Intercession can do so only where the leadership of the church has given them such a mission as in the case of The International Church of Pretoria where this department is allowed to do such work.

praying. For example, the month of August of 2011 has been declared by the Department of Intercession, a month of intercession for the church leaders and other subjects at the International Church of Pretoria; a programme was issued so that each member of the church departments had a specific day for prayer and fasting.

Urging his fellow Americans to love and serve their country, Wink (1986:105) says: “We cannot minister to the soul of America unless we love its soul faithfully and truly, without sinking into idolatry, unless we have correctly discerned its true vocation under the God who holds the destiny of all nations”. He states later: “We cannot discern that calling unless we know the angel who bears the message of what the nation might become” (:105). Daniel knowing the message of deliverance his God had put forth for his people, he prayed instantly for the fulfilment of the promise to this people (Daniel 9:2-27). Accordingly, Nehemiah aware of the promises God had made to his people, prayed and fasted, and worked to the complete realisation of what God had put in his heart (Nehemiah 1:3-11; 2:12). So, the primary task the Congolese have is to develop a genuine love for their nation and to pray and act to real transformation. Congolese informed intercession, motivated by genuine love can cause God to transform their leadership and community. The God of the Bible is the God who remains the same yesterday, today and forever (Hebrews 13:8); the God that touched Naaman the commander of the army of Aram (2 Kings 5:8-18), Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon (Daniel 2:17-47) to also touch President Kabila and current leaders not only of Congo and of other African nations, but also those of other foreign nations that often play negative roles in Africa to real transformation. It can be reminded here that every opportunity of churches’ intercession for socio-political transformation is also an opportunity for church leaders to educate their people providing them with the useful information for their development.

Individual and collective prayers for the transformation of people and their institutions are essential at this stage to seek the direction of God and combat the contravening socio-political powers of the Congo. Amazed by the seemingly powerful influence of institutional demons in the community, Wink (1986:69) observes:

The demonic influence in our time has a peculiar proclivity for institutional structures. It is as if the demons of the Bible grew up along with us and, while

leaving some of their smaller cousins to continue harassing individuals, swelled to the giant proportions of our transnational corporations, military establishments, university systems, and governmental bureaucracies.

God's insistence on intercession for leadership development and socio-political transformation also points to the closeness of relationship between these two and spiritual powers. Genesis 41:8 speaks of Pharaoh who called his magicians after having a troubling dream for explanation; and Daniel 2:1-3 points to king Nebuchadnezzar who was surrounded by magicians, astrologers, sorcerers and Chaldeans. To get Joshua filled with the spirit of wisdom before Moses' death, Moses had to lay hands on him. Samuel had to anoint Saul for him to be qualified as the king of Israel (1 Samuel 10:10). Later on in 1 Samuel 16:11-13, Samuel had also to anoint David to qualify for king; then to disqualify Saul for the kingdom the Spirit of the Lord was to depart from him and an evil spirit started troubling him (1 Samuel 16:14). Besides, traditionally, leadership in Africa is almost always associated with spirituality of some sort (Rodney 1982:126). And western powers generally initiate their African friends, who are ruling over the continent to some occult spirituality as African Freemasonry (<http://en.afrik.com/article16445.html>; Ayandele 1974:19-20; Renou 2001:421-422) to become their faithful servants and enemies of good socio-political behaviours and actions, and exploiters of their own people. The article *Masonic African Leaders: The European Pseudo-military orders ruling Africa* indicates precisely that Freemasonry is occult or part of secret societies (<http://www.masonic-african-leaders-rasta-livewire-special>). The article *Freemason Presidents in Africa* in the Website above lists the names of current and past presidents of the African countries who have been initiated into Freemasonry and explains how damaging has been the link between this occult practice and dictatorial leadership and common people's exploitation. I consider therefore intercession as an appropriate Christian response to meet the challenge of such damaging spiritualities that surround leadership development and socio-political transformation enterprise. I also consider intercession opportunities good enough for church leaders to provide their people with the needed information for socio-political transformation and leadership development as seen earlier.

Hence, church leaders will also be encouraged at this stage to organise intercession teams for spiritual support of Christians involved in political leadership positions and/or assuming higher corporate or socio-political responsibilities where spiritual challenges are serious (Vischer 1980:23, 48; Mostert 1997:97). They would then mobilise people for prayer, teach them principles for effective praying while personally modelling for such praying (Wagner 1997:284-2892). Such intercession will especially be for their physical, social and political protection, for their spiritual sensitivity and guidance. Institutions training both present and future church and other socio-political leaders such as Université Protestante au Congo, Université Chrétienne de Kinshasa, Operaf and TMALI also need prevailing intercession. People of these institutions would be prayed for so that they could seek to know and fear God, love and serve people, especially, the underdog; seek social justice and transformation. Renton, Seddon & Zeilig (2007:2) report that Leopold's spirit of greed and violence has cursed the Congo ever since; so, it is also the right place for the Christians to pray and rebuke such a spirit and exorcise the country. Prayers can also be done for leaders' lives to be touched through signs, wonders and miracles to convert themselves to Christianity in a powerful way as did the kings in Daniel 2:46-49; 6:25-28.

Church leaders would also be encouraged to humbly seek and prepare their own personal intercessors that would be praying for them and sharing the concerns of their lives and ministry with them in private moments (Wagner 1992:20-21). Bringing church leadership of different denominations and their members together to intercede for the transformation of their communities and leaders as reported by Mostert (1997:47) would be most ideal. Operaf can also develop an intercession project through which, at least, partner churches or denominations can come together for a prevailing intercession for leadership and socio-political transformation.

Tshilenga (2005:166)'s statement that prospective church leaders go through training institutions and come out of them with the collective sins as seen earlier does not necessarily suggest that those church leaders got the sins during their training at the theological or other educational institutions; however, it can insinuate that there was at least a problem during their ordinary church life which prevented them from becoming true salt of the earth and light of the world as the Bible suggests (Matthew 5:13-14). The

handicap at the church level also needs dealing with in a serious way in the next section. Given the increasing number of Congolese Christians and church leaders who hold socio-political leadership positions in the country, but who, ethically and/or spiritually, behave just like any other unbelieving Congolese (Operaf 2003:3), I wish to introduce a section on how to help develop a transformed Congolese Christian through a series of conversion.

8.3 Transformative four-dimensional discipleship

I would like to base this proposal on Jehoshaphat's project in Judah which brought about deep spiritual, economic, social and political transformation. Being a god-fearing king, to disseminate the fear of God in the whole kingdom, Jehoshaphat sent his leaders, Levites and priests to teach the fear of God to his people (2 Chronicles 17:7-12). The result was a nation well-taught about the true love of God, able to effectively serve him and their own neighbour, which further resulted in an extensive peace within and around Judah, huge riches and considerable respect by the surrounding kingdoms that brought abundant presents to the kingdom of Judah. Church leaders can make it their special business of making true disciples of Jesus Christ, people who really know him and fear him (Katongole 2011:46-47), love other people and enjoy serving them, and practise mercy and justice (Micah 6:8; Matthew 28:19-20). Reporting on how John Wycliffe did in England to progressively bring about "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people", McDowell & Beliles (2008:44) equally observe that after his translation of the Bible into English, Wycliffe's "followers would travel to towns and villages passing out Bibles and tracts and preaching and teaching on street corners, in chapels, gardens, assembly halls, and everywhere else they had an opportunity". Ultimately, their actions "had a very powerful impact on the population by the turn of the close of the fourteenth century according to their opponents' testimonies" (:45). Such efficient actions need also to be taken for the transformation of the African Christianity, which is unable to bring about the much needed transformation in this century.

Van der Walt (2001:103) rightfully qualifies African Christianity as being basically dualistic. He then characterises this dualism as being: escapist, pietist,

ecclesiasticist, and secularistic. Here, both Christians and church leadership practise some sort of split spirituality where Christian principles are almost never consistently applied in social, cultural, economical and political situations where they naturally need to be used. Indeed, this dualism has a very negative impact on Christian life in general and on the capacity to bring about socio-political transformation. In the lives of the African ministers of the word the dualism is more manifest in the often sharp contradiction between their teachings/sermons and their actions. This dualism or lack of integrity is evidently remarkable in the life of many, for example, after delivering a very good sermon on holiness; they contradict their own sermon with a gross ungodly behaviour or attitude, and defend it strongly with all their energy. Or else, some would teach on good socio-political behaviours for the transformation of the continent; unfortunately, they still remain persistent in doing what is socio-politically damaging. All these contradictions and many church divisions and infightings for personal gains and glory are also generally motivated by the same dualism.

Though this dualism has been inherited from the western Christianity, it continues developing in African churches and elsewhere because of unhelpful Christian education. Van der Walt declares later: “Africa inherited the age-old dualism of sacred-secular from Western Christianity. Consequently, the churches confined themselves to Christian education ...” (:106). In this same connection, reporting later on the three different types of Christian higher education on the continent, he lists the following types of educational institutions none of which has a clear transformation programme.

1. Church-controlled theological institutions for higher learning (of which some may offer liberal arts courses). They are increasing, but have a very narrow perspective. They usually do not know the ideal of Christian higher education beyond the confines of theological studies.
2. A few colleges and universities founded and sponsored by Christian groups and denominations. Most of these are only Christian in name, not capable of integrating faith and learning.
3. Liberal arts colleges from an integral Christian perspective. With one or two exceptions, this type of Christian higher education never materialized and is still begging for our attention (:106).

Fortunately, Charles' quote hereafter gives hope for improvement that something good has already started to happen somewhere in the world. The hope is that Africa would reap its fruit some day. Speaking of the integration of moral formation in Christian institutions of higher education he had studied in America, Charles (2002:229) states:

It should be said in fairness to these schools that, based on statements made in their catalogs, all five share certain Christian core commitments – notably, the pursuit of truth based on a commitment to Scripture, the integration of faith and knowledge and preparation of the student for life of service.

Contrary to Van der Walt's statement mentioned earlier, especially, in points 1 and 2, these American institutions have started integrating faith and knowledge and preparation of people to a life of service. Such a development can also be considered as model in the African education institutions where necessary.

Meanwhile, a holistic integrative Christian approach to all the sciences is indeed a rare phenomenon in Africa (Van der Walt 2001:106). Most strangely, split spirituality as well as dualism and pietism seem to be widespread in the church, not only in Africa but also out of the continent. Speaking of pietism and split Christian life among American evangelicals, Charles (2002:102) observes:

Most Christians – evangelicals included – have not been taught to understand faith and life in terms of worldview, that is, in terms of an overarching framework for interpreting all of reality. Most believers would be unable to articulate what they believe in terms of a unified world and life-view perspective. One symptom of this state of affairs is that most evangelical colleges and seminaries speak liberally how integrating faith and knowledge while offering few courses to show precisely how integration proceeds; correlatively, the same institutions typically devote numerous courses to Christian doctrine but a limited number to Christian ethics (or, at least, to demonstrate the indivisible link between doctrine and ethics).

As he continues expanding on the matter, J.D. Charles wonders why such a situation could be possible. He then explains that part of the reason is seemingly the pietist strain that is an integral part of American evangelical history. This inward focus of a faith that is chiefly devotional and inspirational in character has unwittingly and not infrequently contributed to the neglect of the Christian mind. Because evangelicals pride themselves

in their emphasis on direct experience with God through Christ, they tend to think and act as if cultivating the life of the mind, studying Christian doctrine, subordinating our beliefs and traditions to the consensus of history, and learning from the early church fathers are unnecessary at best or a waste of time at worst (:102).

Just to come back to the so-called generally split Christianity in Africa, as a remedy, I consequently suggest a careful and systematic analysis of this situation and a meticulous transformational effort that would require the use of a long, intentional and integrative process of effective conversion. This conversion I would call a *Four-dimensional discipleship* (Banza 2003:55-58) as detailed below. This process will grow a deep Christian philosophy based on a biblical teaching and/or learning, development of serious moral life and strong socio-political awareness and understanding of personal political responsibility, leading people to act decisively as Christians in their communities.

There is no fixed order in the development of a four-dimensional discipleship as seen later on; the most important thing is that the process of conversion leads to the needed individual transformation and preparation for the transformation of their community. The process is also essential for the empowerment of Christians. Speaking of power, empowerment and cultural acquiescence, Edet (1994:124) maintains: “Theologically every Christian is empowered by Jesus at his or her Christian initiation to function fully as a child of God”. And he adds later that, “Christ empowered all who turned to him...” (:125). Nowadays, Jesus still empowers all those who turn to him to develop a real character of Christ in them and lead life worth of Christ’s glory. The deeper and more balanced the conversion is, the more spiritually strong a Christian becomes. The more holistically spiritual, psychologically and socio-politically healthy a church leader is, the fitter she/he will be able to contribute to the transformation of others, and consequently to that of their community.

Dorr (1990:8) and Phan (1996:114) point out that conversion needs to be a full one in order for someone to enjoy a better relationship with God and one’s neighbour, both in word and in deed. A full or well-balanced conversion means the one which affects these different dimensions of personal and spiritual, interpersonal and socio-political life. In terms of the ideas of these two theologians and many others the four dimensions of this

conversion are religious, intellectual, moral and socio-political. The challenge is however of finding church leaders who can teach through being at the same time shining examples of their own teachings (Kä Mäna 2005:215). Before sending leaders, Levites and priests to teach the people the fear of God to enjoy the spiritual, social and political benefit of it, Jehoshaphat was himself a real god-fearer (2 Chronicles 17:7-13). And Ezra before teaching the statutes and ordinances of his God to people, he had prepared his heart to seek the Law of the Lord and to do it (Ezra 7:10). That is why the contradiction between what the church worker preaches and what she/he does is very often deadly.

Exodus 35:30-35 and Exodus 36:1 speak of the God of Israel, who called Bazalel the son of Uri and filled him with the Spirit of God, in wisdom and understanding, in knowledge and all manner of workmanship, to design artistic works; and who appointed him and Aholiab the son of Ahisamach for the sanctuary. The same story has been told said in Exodus 31:2-11. Therefore, it can be inferred from these scriptures that God is the origin and the provider of skills and careers. And the submission of the skills and careers to God's authority can ascertain their proper management. The suggestion is that skilled people, people of expertise and careers can be encouraged within the process of four-dimensional-conversion to contribute and their contributions can be used for leadership development and socio-political transformation.

So, conversely, when natural gifts, skills, careers and social positions are not submitted to God's authority, privatised faith or spirituality, dualistic and anti-social behaviours can easily develop in believers' lives. This is also the view of McDowell & Beliles (2008:190-195) concerning ways of bringing about socio-political transformation. These scholars advise that, after Matthew 28:19, communities can be educated for transformation according to the biblical worldview. Therefore, an intentional effort can also be done through these four dimensions of conversion to allow the process of the integration of the development of people's skills and careers and their use for socio-political transformation to take place. The integration of personal skills and/or careers within personal spirituality plays a very important role in combating dualism, anti-social attitudes and actions, and privatisation of faith in day-to-day living. As individual formal and informal skills and/or occupations are included, it equally allows the gaining and development of more insights for practical transformational leadership on the part of both

church leadership and membership. It equally affords the organisation of domains of specific careers and/or fields of knowledge as seen for Operaf in 6.2.1.2.4 where opportunities can be discussed and challenges tackled especially for solutions to individual and community problems.

The process of socio-political transformation which comprises a four-dimensional discipleship can start here. The first dimension of transformation is Religious/spiritual conversion.

8.3.1 Religious Conversion

Describing religious conversion, Marsh (1990:235) says: “Religious conversion is the peak of self-transcendence”. Then, on the same page he continues saying: “...religious conversion is other-worldly falling in love with God without restriction”. This falling in love takes place when one receives Jesus Christ as personal Lord and Saviour. This is basically the unmerited reception of the grace of God which brings an entirely new dimension of divine presence into human life (Miller 1999:23). The conversion opens the person to all of God’s richest resources as stated in Ephesians 1:5. The verse indicates that Christians have been blessed with all blessings in the heavenly places. A lot of Congolese church members and their leadership as well as other Africans claim to have experienced this conversion though many of them still worship various other gods (Kä Mäna 2001:34-36) and lack godly love and ethic (Mutombo-Mukendi 2005:120-122) because of the lack of proper Christian education. It is advisable for the church leader to wisely make sure of the nature and level of their members’ faith through observation, spiritual dialogue and questioning methods to be able to take the next step for their proper spiritual growth. If proven, the process can be followed through so as to bring their faith to a higher level through prayer, adequate Christian education and the practice of the word of God. Asking them whether they accepted Jesus Christ as personal Lord and Saviour and being sure this really happened can help for the way forward.

Kä Mäna dubs African Christianity as being largely a constant juxtaposition of African traditional religions and Christianity. Many of the Christians claim to believe in Jesus Christ as their saviour, protector and provider. At the same time they widely practise

many other religious beliefs. This practice of different religious systems leads to a dangerous and generalised spiritual mediocrity, spiritual irresponsibility and unclear conscience in their lives (Kä Mäna 2001:34-36). Their condition is ultimately comparable to that of the people of Samaria reported in 2 Kings 17:24-34 where social disasters were constantly looming. They thus end up being ruined by lives of lies, duplicity, confusion, hypocrisy and high sense of irresponsibility, creating a situation where one can hardly know which god will bless them. Believing that any form of Christianity can contribute to ethical leadership development in Congo or elsewhere in Africa is utopian and irresponsible. True and sincere spiritual conversion based on personal intuitive, illuminative or revelatory experiences of God which engage someone into a God-initiated process of becoming like Christ (Kretzschmar 2006:344-345) can play a decisive role in solving such problems. Though some Christian organisations seem to overlook Christlikeness as essential criterion for the selection of church workers (Operaf 2008:6), for Maxwell (2007:viii) it is a major requirement for the choice of the effective transformational church leaders. The fact that Christlikeness is such a qualifying/disqualifying condition shows how important is religious conversion for Christian living and consequently for transformational church leadership because no one can become Christlike without accepting Christ in her/his life as personal Lord and Saviour (Kretzschmar 2006:344-345).

At the same time church leaders can allow the development of a sense of prophetic theology and boldness in Christians so that they can always be prepared to stand for things which are to God's glory and for the good of many. Bible passages such as Daniel 3:19-30 and 6:1-28 can be shared, being interpreted in the context of the "disguised" Congolese dictatorship. The first passage is about how Daniel's three friends resisted King Nebuchadnezzar's order to serve his god and how God honoured their faith by protecting them and demanding all peoples to regard Shadrach, Meshach and Abednego's God with respect. The second is about how Daniel worked in a political and dictatorial environment, fearing his God and doing his work ethically. It is also about how Daniel's refusal to violate his prayer covenant with God and how God honoured his faith to the extent that everyone in the kingdom was obliged to respect Daniel's God. Congolese Christians and church leaders who are afraid to speak and act against their poor political leadership, and

those who conform their lives to unethical standards of society can be exhorted to behave and live according to their religion's recommendations. Exhortations about God's spiritual, physical, social and professional protection against attacks from evil powers can also be conveyed to afford the spiritual growth of Christians to total stability so as to avoid them recourse to satanic protection.

Church leaders can also encourage church members to know how they can make their skills and/or careers part of their Christian being and living and how they can use them. They can know, for example, how to speak of their faith and touch others by acts of living faith so that they can be brought to spiritual conversion. Another key dimension is intellectual conversion as developed below.

8.3.2 Intellectual Conversion

This conversion involves the transformation of someone's natural thinking and the acquisition of a godly philosophy through certain behaviours and actions, which can also affect the thinking, being and living of the person. Smith (1981:179) defines intellectual conversion as "radical clarification and, consequently the elimination of an exceedingly stubborn and misleading myth concerning reality, objectivity and knowledge". Romans 12:2 indicates that the change of mind causes transformation, prevents conformation to worldly life and allows discerning of what is the good and perfect will of God. This is to say that this conversion helps one to acquire God's perspective and distinguish right from wrong in order to come to effective observation of God's will, practice of love for the neighbour and for the community at large.

Intellectual conversion is very important for all Christians to reach the necessary change of their mindset; but it is even more important for the leading African people to help them see life from God's perspective and to understand and use the power they have got according to godly principles; that is, for their own good, for that of their communities, and for the glory of God. Intellectual conversion is of special importance for prominent African people, who generally appreciate life according to the thinking of the common people and their own selfish needs and ambitions, and not according to godly principles. The development of this conversion requires intentional and constant actions from church

leaders and missiologists and from Christians who need transformation. Church leaders can thus teach, exhort, intercede, organise intercession for the purpose and follow everything through. Taking this advice into consideration, the new Christian can read, meditate, study and where necessary memorise sections/verses of the Bible and pray for the purpose. They can also learn special scriptures according to their particular skills, careers or occupations in order to be able to protect and defend their faith and/or to use that faith for the spiritual and socio-political good of many. Practically, they also contribute to the development of this conversion by connecting any socio-cultural or political event, happening in the community with a Bible text in order to help them know the reasons why what is good is to be done and what is wrong is to be avoided.

Though Christians have the privilege of benefitting from the help of the power of the Holy Spirit, it can equally be noted that people who are not Christians can also reach intellectual conversion but in a different way. In this case it is generally called intellectual transformation. Bible stories can be shared and characters used to stir people up to positive actions for the benefits of many voiceless, weak or powerless. 1 Samuel 17:45-47 tells of a young man who because of the love of his God and people decided to lay down his life. It showcases a highly-skilled David fighting an experienced warrior Goliath to defend God's people, who were unable to defend themselves. Esther 4:13-17 and 5-8 speak of a young queen who risked her life for the good of her people; they bespeak of the express reason why and the responsibility Queen Esther had to shoulder as a queen at the precise moment. The Bible as well as any other insightful and seminal literature can be used to this effect. The primary objective of organisations such as TMALI is this conversion, but in a different perspective. The organisation intends to provide a different perspective of Africa and Africans and of how to bring about transformation in the continent to the people they train through specific activities and knowledge. The next dimension in the process of transformation might be a conversion to others, especially to the poor and to all those socio-politically or spiritually in need of any kind – a moral conversion.

8.3.3 Moral Conversion

This is the conversion chiefly concerned with one's interpersonal relationships. Dorr (1990:13) explains that moral conversion is more than mere preparedness to observe moral principles. It is a deeper change of heart and/or mind, making one readily prepared to relate to others, especially, to the poor, on a person-to-person basis. To be morally converted is to have come to the point where one can "see as really significant the events that touch the lives of the poor, for better or for worse" (:17). Paying careful attention to the underdogs or to any persons in a material or any other need, listening compassionately to them in order to assist them are signs of moral conversion. Caring for them in any way and even praying for their needs to be met as did Peter and John in Acts 3:1-8 are also expressions of moral conversion.

This conversion consists in helping people in having clear discernment of the good to do and evil to avoid and empowering them with the needed ethical character for the proper actions, attitudes and behaviours. Moral conversion is very important for everybody; but it is more important for Christians to show love to humanity. It is even more important for Africans, who have lost their original sense of *ubuntu* and acquired transactional relationships, to develop again and deepen and enhance relationships with others. Proper development of people's moral conversion can offer the church transformed Christians, the community transformed citizenry, and NEPAD and/or African Renaissance the kind of people they need to work adequately and succeed, according to the pledge in (NEPAD 2001:57). I mentioned earlier that this conversion is not exclusively something religious. When Pityana (1999:137) speaks of moral renewal, he is basically referring to this conversion. Similarly, when Teffo (1999:166, 168)' description of moral rebirth amounts well to this conversion. Of course, these two scholars speak from their own fields of knowledge, yet which contribute to spiritual, moral and social advancement. Ubuntu, which Pityana (1999:144) considers as the organising principle of African morality and "reference to human solidarity", as well as relevant biblical principles coupled with appropriate examples provided by church leaders, community leaders, parents or any other people of influence can easily help develop this conversion. Visits to and caring for the elderly, needy, for example, can play a very important role for such a development.

Through well planned discipleship, developed in the combination of moral and spiritual formation, and caring actions to people in need, good results can be achieved. The integration of moral and spiritual formation with wider aspects of church education and nurturing role as well as the shaping of the life of the Congolese Christians after the model of Jesus Christ can well lead to much better results.

The neglect or ignorance of the development of this conversion in the church seems to be not an African problem only. Speaking of the long-lasting counterproductive results due to the lack of moral-philosophical development among American evangelicals Charles (2002:226) observes:

The relative inattention to winning a person's mind and way of thinking, an inattention that tends to depreciate a long-term strategy of building relationships and addressing moral-philosophical complexities, has lasting results that are counterproductive to evangelicals' mission to the world.

To avoid these long-lasting counterproductive consequences and prepare for Congolese readily prepared for effective transformation, Congolese and their church leaders and community builders can consequently work for intensive moral persuasion. Church members can also play an important role in this connection, according to their spiritual growth, careers or skills, and social standing; they can be encouraged to individually or collectively do what they can to positively affect the life of someone in a certain need or that of their community. The fourth conversion is therefore about the development of the necessary socio-political values.

8.3.4 Political Conversion

Political conversion can also be called socio-political conversion (Miller 1999:132); this conversion and other levels of moral and intellectual conversion are very important for the socio-political transformation of African communities. Explaining this conversion, Dorr (1990:14-15) says that political conversion is the conversion of one's mind to political responsibility. To be politically converted involves the understanding of how one's society is structured and how it works, and the commitment to correcting injustices, not only on an

ad hoc basis but also by replacing the unjust structures with those that are equitable. Training and developing people who can do such a work or who can contribute effectively to the needed transformation is a qualifying factor. Mark C. Miller's discussion on forms of conversion provides three other terms, which describe types or dimensions of conversion that can also be accommodated here. Commenting on Conn's contribution, he suggests a different but complementary form of conversion that also deals with the appropriation of feelings: *affective conversion*. This conversion is considered a transformation of desire: a turning from possessive desire to desire for generosity; it is a reorientation from the possessiveness rooted in obsessive concern for one's own needs to the self-giving of intimate love and generative care of others (Miller 1999:132). Then, discussing what he calls *socio-political conversion*, Mark C. Miller takes on an *affective conversion*. The affectively converted take responsibility for the health of their emotional growth. Affective conversion is then complemented by intellectual, moral, and religious conversion; but all four types express personal responsibility for decisions. Ultimately, he recommends a fifth form, that of *socio-political conversion*. The socio-political convert people take responsibility within the limits of realistic possibility for influencing the decisions of others, especially, for influencing the decisions that give shape to large, impersonal institutions that influence human life and experience. This fifth dimension is deemed essential to deindividualise the notion of conversion, forcing engagement and dialogue with the values of the collective beyond oneself, 'The Others,' as he puts it. This aspect of conversion demands personal dedication to a reasonable cause which seeks to affect the common good (:133). The affective conversion with its turning from the obsessive concern for one's own needs to the self-giving of intimate love and generative care of others as well as the socio-political conversion discussed above, with its forcing engagement and dialogue with the values of the collective beyond oneself represent a great similarity with political conversion to be accommodated in it. The common denominator is their interest in the good of the other, in common good and in socio-political transformation.

This conversion is of greater importance for everybody to be able to combat political irresponsibility and positively contribute to social justice and deep transformation of the community. Analysing leading Africans' psychology and what undergirds their

wrong socio-political attitudes, behaviours and actions, Banza (2003:45-48) demonstrates that there are glaring cases of political irresponsibility among them. Indifference towards their nations or communities suffering from poor leadership, for example, or from unjust wars, economic and socio-political exploitation are some of the signs of the lack of this conversion. Conversely, transcending the mere talks about or listening passively to talks about victimised nations or communities to take an initiative and/or an action for happy resolution of such unfortunate situations as listed above are signs of political conversion in the life of someone. Prevailing prayer for the development of good leadership or for the socio-political transformation of a community is also a good sign. Combating this irresponsibility in order to develop in them a heart for their own good and that of their community, is also a Christian responsibility for church workers as well as a socio-political responsibility for all. Developing a deep sense of African traditional ubuntu, where possible, is equally part of this responsibility. This ubuntu I expect to be a really globalising version of it, free from tribal, ethnic, nationalistic or religious limitations that can harm relationships with people from other tribes or groupings and religions as can be seen in the description of a Maggy from Maison Shalom. Describing Maggy's vision for "new" Burundi, Katongole (2011:175, 176) observes that Maggy came to see her mission as one of healing Burundi society. She expected Maison Shalom, which is the name of her organisation, to become not simply an example of the identity and calling of God's love, but also the seed for a new culture and indeed a new future founded on the story of love. She worked to see Burundi give birth to a new generation of people who would carry the light of love and forgiveness to all the surrounding hills of the country.

Teffo (1999:153) describes ubuntu as follows: "Ubuntu or humanness implies a basic respect for human nature as a whole. It is a social ethic, a unifying vision enshrined in the Zulu maxim 'Umuntu ngumuntu ngabanye' (One is a person through others)". What can also be inspiring from this statement is that as a philosophy, ubuntu is a unifying vision for the communal welfare. It is like one of the biblical principles: "Love your neighbour as yourself" (Matthew 22:39). The use of relevant biblical principles such as the Golden rule in Matthew 7:12 and many others, and of the philosophy of ubuntu, compounded with good and appropriate living examples, can well help the development of this conversion to fruition. Telling Congolese stories of their fellow-citizens who were

motivated to fight for the benefit of all and who chose to sacrifice a lot, even to death, such as Patrice E. Lumumba, can make also a difference. Gordon (2002:74-75) explains how this Congo-loving leader determinedly worked for the unity of the country, for total independence of his land and for their future social justice, despite countless death threats. One of these Congolese is Etienne Tshisekedi who has been fighting for democracy and social justice, resisting corruption and threats of any kind for more than thirty years. Such stories told by knowledgeable and disinterested leaders can inspire many and develop in them a strong sense of socio-political transformation.

Regarding transformation of individuals and communities as essential, A.J. Ramasamy makes a few proposals in order to relate theories and appropriate actions. Suggesting how Christian principles and ubuntu can positively contribute to transformation in Africa, he proposes that the gospel value of human solidarity that recognises the importance of all human beings - who are therefore deserving of compassion and justice regardless of tribal, ethnic or cultural allegiances - be associated with effective living out of ubuntu. The gospel must be used to liberate women from oppression, a practice that is often grounded in culture. If African Renaissance stands for the liberation of the African people then this is one of the chief areas of enslavement with which it must deal. Practising unconditional love and accepting everybody despite human differences constitute the answer to the many instances of hatred and conflict that afflict the continent. This is critical, especially, with regard to the ethnic tensions that are so prevalent in the continent. True love is to love one's enemies (Matthew 5:44-46). This love, *agape*, a very powerful Christian value, is unconditional and reaches out to any one regardless of race or ethnic group to which they belong. Jesus goes beyond a mere ethic of duty and makes love and compassion the motivating factor. This is clearly demonstrated in the parable of the Good Samaritan, where the Jewish religious leaders remained indifferent to the needs of the dying man; it was the Samaritan, someone from the despised group, who enacted a ministry of compassion that saved the victim. This is what ubuntu is all about – a sense of identifying the needs of others as members of a common humanity (Ramasamy 2004:107-109). In this way, Christian conversion could help to gradually reconstruct the social fabric of divided and unjust societies like the Congolese, Great Lakes and other African social fabrics for the benefit of all.

As his way of contributing to the development of a strong sense of political conversion in African churches, A.J. Ramasamy observes that the restoration of ubuntu will create a strong and harmonious sense of community in which unconditional love can be expressed in practical terms. It will also recognise the worth of the individual. African churches being the *ekklesia* of God, will reflect within their structures and theology both the need for community and worth of the individual. European colonialism, in partnership with Protestantism, promoted an individualistic ethic that disrupted the fundamental communal pattern of African social existence. The original pattern of Judaeo-Christian society was a corporate one. There is a need to restore this order as it harmonises closely with the African spirit of ubuntu. In this way the church can prove to possess a model that can advance the cause of the African Renaissance. In the New Testament one finds the corporate idea of *koinonia*, fellowship, into which God has called us. The church is thus more than an institution that promotes ritualistic activities and church programmes, but rather it is a fellowship with all the implications of caring among members. The virtue of communalism which involves a high degree of sharing and mutual responsibility would then be restored. African traditional societies were characterised by a relative economic equality as communal solidarity prevented self-enrichment on the part of individuals (Ramasamy 2004:108). The early church was characterised also by the redistribution of resources, and thus developed a strong sense of community (Acts 2:44-47). Ubuntu can therefore create the context in which the value of love can flourish. It makes for a caring that strives to ensure the wellbeing of fellow citizens. Indifference to the needs of the poor and refusal to share one's possessions with them mean lack of love for the neighbour and lack of the sense of social justice, which means further that one certainly cannot claim to be compassionate. Christian ethics is concerned with the many political, social and cultural issues that confront society. Among these challenges are the problems of globalisation and poverty which the African Renaissance is striving to overcome. I consider the need for Christians to return to the Torah and the Prophets who stood for the poor, the weak and the oppressed as essential here. This ethics is essential, especially, when it goes beyond the process of reflection and analysis to involve commitment on the part of Christians locally and globally. The Christian message shall then be both proclaimed and practised to be real. In this instance African churches can engage in poverty alleviation programmes as well as

criticism of economic policies (such as neo-liberalism, globalisation) that tend to favour the rich and powerful nations while impoverishing the weaker nations, without selfish ambitions or fear of the powerful (Ramasamy 2004:107-109).

A practical contribution to political conversion can consist in asking Christians to look around them and uncover a problem for which they or the church can provide a solution, using the available skills, careers or occupations. So acting would lead to more creativity in order to solve practical socio-political problems of their community and help the surrounding people to see the relevance of the church in their midst. Such Christians can hardly become selfish or exploitative leaders if ever they are given the opportunity to lead in some capacity. Conversely, they would aptly ready themselves for servant leadership.

Proposing a framework to African Renaissance leaders, Van Rensburg (2007:61-62) equally recommends psychological restoration for an effective development of an African leadership free of many negatives as mentioned earlier. He then declares:

Several African writers are of the opinion that a characteristic of the African people is their benign docility. This characteristic made them easy prey for exploitation. Overwhelmed and probably disillusioned, many Africans in the post-colonial era reverted to blackmailing and fraudulent practices as means of improving their personal conditions.

It is evident that Africa's people are in need of messages that will give them hope and self-belief as Africans. It is one victory to get rid of the claims of imperialists rule, but another to find the self-confidence needed for success in a world where one so easily can be left behind, or outside. (Van Rensburg 2007:61-62)

In this connection I can suggest that while dealing with spiritual issues, African churches can equally deal with educational, socio-political and developmental issues proper for effective leadership and socio-political transformation. People who have special skills and/or are in professions which can contribute to the development of political conversion and/or skills in others and/or socio-political transformation in the community can be encouraged to use them where necessary for the needed development. Following on that, the educational recommendations as suggested below can be of real transformational value. Hoppers, Moja, & Mda (1999:233) suggest that when dealing with the development of people who have lost their self-esteem, their pride as well as

their dignity, it is important that the “knowledge” fed to them, be fused with a sense and objective of helping them regain that which they have lost. This overhaul can begin with a reinstitution of an explicitly people-centred conception of development, development of a sense of commitment and loyalty to the development of the ‘whole’ human being (spiritual, mental, social, as well as other aspects, such as economy and so forth). An emphasis on collective development rather than individualistic accumulation of wealth, and a conscious learning from constructive African philosophies and the putting of that wisdom to overt use are essential here (:233). This statement opens also a space for psychological as well as for socio-political empowerment for complete human and social transformation as detailed below. So, in the section below we deal with the remedies, psychological and socio-political abnormalities.

8.4 Psychological and Socio-political Remedies

This section deals with the analysis of the psychological, social and political problems of the people of the community in order to solve them or suggest solutions so that they can enjoy a fully healthy socio-political life. Key features of this empowerment are psychopathology and psychotherapy. The remedies follow the analysis of common African psychological problems which have been noticed in the continent.

8.4.1 Typical African psychopathologies

This subsection examines psychopathologies which are common to some Africans, especially, to African elites and/or leading people. Their general characteristics and causes will also be described in the subsection. They generally include inferiority and/or superiority complexes and political irresponsibilities (Banza 2003:46, 47; Franon 1967:60; Mugambi 1989:111).

8.4.1.1 Inferiority complex

Inferiority complexes and their syndromes have a special impact on African peoples and their leaders, which require a variety of techniques in order to combat this complex. Inferiority complexes as well as dependency syndromes are manifested through signs as social abnormalities. Such signs include Africans' blind tendency to sometimes defend Westerners' evil actions; to believe that they cannot afford as much as Westerners can intellectually, culturally, economically and or socio-politically (Nürnberger 1996:153-154); to believe that Westerners can give them power or keep them in power and develop African economies; to use the policy of divide and rule and ethnocentrism for selfish political benefits; to subtly despise, ill-treat, exploit and impoverish their own peoples as the Westerners have been doing for decades and centuries; but also to slavishly admire other people's values and find empty pride in speaking western languages, especially for French-speaking Africans (Banza 2003:40, 46, 47, 58). After serving Westerners' interests for decades, Mobutu became so proud and convinced of controlling political power in Congo that he started proclaiming his lifelong political career. He consequently became oblivious to the law and institutions to the point of posing himself as the law and institutions of the country. Ultimately, he was surprised to see himself abandoned by his western friends to go abroad, leaving power unexpectedly and dying shamefully abroad, in Morocco (Clark 2002:23-26; Encarta 2007).

Commenting on the psychic conditions of the black people he studied, Fanon (1967:60) observes, for instance, that "In the man of colour there is a constant effort to run away from his own individuality, to annihilate his own presence". This is, in part, the reason why most of the African elites are rarely prepared to accept or share responsibility for the suffering, failure or destruction in their communities. These leaders and many common people often pretend to be morally and socio-politically perfect; for they comment on, criticise and condemn the ruling class. And almost never do they have a concrete alternative solution to propose, especially a solution where they have a direct role to play in order to solve a problem of common interest. Explaining the causes of black people's attitudes and behaviours, Francis Fanon makes a number of meaningful

statements which can help one to understand the cause of such behaviours but also find a way to its remedy. He says, for instance:

The Negro, having been made inferior, proceeds from humiliating insecurity through strongly voiced self-accusation to despair. The attitude of the black man toward the white, or toward his own race, often duplicates almost completely a constellation of delirium, frequently bordering on the pathological region (:60).

And later again, he maintains: “This lack of esteem of self as an object worthy of love has grave consequences. For one thing, it keeps the individual in a state of profound inner insecurity, as a result of which it inhibits or falsifies every relationship with others...” (:75). This lack of self-esteem in the lives of Congolese as well as in those of many colonised and former colonised people stands as consequence of colonisation (Science Magazine, SABC News, 20 July 2009). Describing further the black man’s inferiority complex, Fanon (1967:228) adds: “The black man wants to be like the white man. For the black there is only one destiny. And it is white”. The above statements can help us understand some of the causes of the black man’s inferiority complex so as to think of possible remedies. He considers also that those who are the most educated are generally worst victims of this complex (:25; Freire 1993:44). These are the people who were brainwashed in various ways. They read or were told and/or taught about the white God, white Jesus, white Virgin Mary, white Moses, white Paul, and the like, but also about black devil, black witches, black villains (Fanon 1991:111-114), even though that is not the whole truth. They were equally told about white men always succeeding while black men are never successful, and about white economies and governments always prosperous and black governments and economies always failing. The truth, which is almost never told, is how the western prosperous countries have become rich or else how the unprosperous African countries have become poor. Explaining the cause of the poverty of the poor, Moltmann (1983:133) maintains:

These poor nations are underdeveloped because they have been de-developed - dragged down by wealthy nations of the world. They are hungry because they are being starved. They are getting poorer because they are being forced into debts. They are not suffering because of some deficiency of nature.

Freire also makes interesting statements, which can help us understand some of the abnormal behaviours of these leading Africans. He observes: "...the oppressed want at any cost to resemble the oppressors, to imitate them, to follow them. This phenomenon is especially prevalent in the middle-class oppressed, who yearn to be equal to the "eminent" men and women of the upper class" (Freire 1993:44). The fact remains true even after official political decolonisation. The statements also help us understand why the African elites' attitudes can hardly be different from those of the "former masters", the western imperialists. The "former masters" came to Africa so as to selfishly take riches from Africa to the West in order to build their countries and economies. After the official independence of the continent, African leaders embezzle money from Africa and take it to the West to replenish their bank accounts overseas, buy villas and enjoy life over there. Western imperialists were domineering over the so-called Third World people and exploiting them; African leaders do the same (Katongole 2011:127-130). The western masters led a selfish secluded life far from the local people; African leaders tend to do the same running away from their own overexploited and impoverished fellow citizens. And even some from the Democratic Republic of Congo, then Zaire, would go to Europe almost every weekend, just to watch movies while the majority of their own people went without food in their own country. Their behaviours and attitudes are just the opposite of the following African theologians proclaim real blessings to be. Nthamburi and Waruta (1997:52) maintain: "For African Christians God's blessings are not enough if they only come to benefit individuals, they must become the blessings of their community of faith, and they must be tangible..." The reality on the ground is just tragic and exceedingly disappointing. Speaking of African traditional leadership, Mulemfo (2001:48) observes that anybody chosen as a leader was responsible for the well-being of his/her subjects, and that the African traditional governments played an important role, looking after the public affairs of their subjects and territories, matters which the present African political leaders and systems are rarely prepared to deal with.

Fanon's statements mentioned earlier, that the black people start accusing themselves and their own people "(1967:60)", pinpoint the reason why African peoples often put the blame on their own people and leaders, but plead for the western people even though they know how damaging is the role the latter play in some of the troubles

and wars often suffered in the African continent: Westerners feed tribal conflicts, provide the necessary war logistics for their own selfish profit and start making political declarations against the Africans they have enticed into destructive and shameful actions in their own continent. And because of their humiliating insecurity African leaders accuse themselves, especially their own people, until they despair; and their profound inner insecurity results in a failure to develop good relationships with others. Their subtle lack of self-esteem, resulting in a constant struggle to become white, which is naturally doomed to failure, eventuates in a tragedy of despair and subtle self-hate. Basically, one who does not love himself/herself cannot love anyone else (Munroe 1991:107). The Bible says, “Love your neighbour as yourself” (Matthew 22:39). *Loving oneself* is the pattern of true love for others in the sense that we have to do the good we like to others as to ourselves as stated by MacArthur (1997:1404). It can be indicated here that selfish actions, ambitions, attitudes and behaviours constitute a negative type of self love. Being too judgemental and demonstrating other forms of masochistic behaviours, have their roots in this lack of self-esteem as well as in failing to see oneself as the image of God. This is a constant cause of repeated socio-political problems: civil wars and wars against neighbouring African countries for no serious reasons. Some of the symptoms of the inferiority complex of the African elites are the unnecessary pride they often take in speaking western languages, in eating western food and blindly espousing western values and despising their own culture and values. Recognising this unfortunate preference for foreign cultures, Mugambi (1989:111) comments: “In the contemporary Africa...this issue becomes pertinent especially because of the tendency to suppose that foreign (especially Euro–American, but also Arabic and Oriental) cultures are preferable to the African heritage”.

Empowering the Congolese/African leading people will also mean uprooting all the causes of inferiority complex by the use of such scriptures as Genesis 1:26 where it is stated that humanity has been created after God’s image or Galatians 3:28-29 where it is clear that all Christians are equal in Christ and the power of the Holy Spirit. Lessons from some positively instructive literature and practical examples from African history and cultures can also play good role. Corrective measures could come from Psychology or Psychiatry, History or Science, Religion or any other appropriate domain as mentioned

earlier in this section. As a psychiatrist, Fanon (1967:100) suggests that the patients be helped to become conscious of their unconsciousness and to abandon their “hallucinatory whitening thinking”, but also to start acting in the direction of a change in the social structure. In the same vein Nürnberger (1996:158) speaks also of the transforming conscientisation of the person. The person needs to know that she/he has a problem. What needs to be done is to tell such Congolese or African Christians and others about the God who created human beings and made nations from the same blood (Acts 17:26); who redeemed all to be equal in Christ (Colossians 3:11). They can also be told of prominent black people who have made a difference in a domain or another. Anything at hand can be used to help those who think there are blessed and cursed races to have a positive image of themselves.

It is equally important to restore a healthy self-image of the future African leaders at the level of the school. The works of Black Consciousness as seen in Chapter Three can play a good part here. Appropriate school programmes should be put in place to combat such root causes as those seen earlier. Africans will therefore be taught not to hate the West or westerners but to value them rightfully, to appreciate good African values and cultures that are not contrary to Christian teachings, to love Africa and beautify the continent. This is also the role the global Church and the African churches, in particular, can play. In the same vein Mugambi (1995:225) says that since African cultural values were undermined from the pulpit; they have also to be restored from the pulpit.

Though these Africans are no longer under any western power, they find themselves invaded by the power of the former colonial masters. This situation reminds one of the children of Israel who, after being taken out of Egypt, had their heart kept captive by Egypt for a long time. Moses still had to struggle hard to help them walk straight to the Promised Land. Explaining how hard liberation work is, Linthicum (1991:84) observes: “You can take people out of the evil empire, but it is truly hard to get the empire out of people”. So, African churches have to keep on working on those to complete transformation; church leaders have then to continue in order to free African people and their political leaders completely from this dangerous complex.

8.4.1.2 Superiority complex

This complex is the other side of inferiority complex as concerns socio-political psychopathologies. Sometimes, inferiority and superiority complexes tend to be confused with each other in their manifestations or expressions and socio-political consequences as explained in 8.4.2.1. That is why my comments on superiority complex remain short.

P. Freire observes: "...the oppressed want at any cost to resemble the oppressors, to imitate them, to follow them. This phenomenon is especially prevalent in the middle-class oppressed, who yearn to be equal to the "eminent" men and women of the upper class" (Freire 1993:44). African elites were educated and groomed to feel superior vis-a-vis other Africans to oppress and exploit them well (Gordon 2002:1-2, 7-13; Kagwanja 2000:27). So, those Africans who have attained the "whiteness status" through education, economic and or political power sometimes suffer from superiority complex. People like former president Mobutu of Zaire, who, relying on their western political and military support, claimed to rule the country till death (Clark 2002:23-26), it is because of this complex. An example of superiority complex through education and status is the attitude and behaviour of professors at Congolese universities. Some of these professors have difficulty giving a lift to students; they wonder where to put students in their cars. Because putting a student in their passenger seat is a problem and putting her/him in a back seat is even a bigger problem for some.

8.4.1.3 Congolese/Africans' political irresponsibility

The subsection enlists general African political responsibilities before dealing with the causes of civic and/or political irresponsibility and indifference and of how to combat them. Those include observation of the established Law and order, Justice and human rights; paying of one's debts and taxes, but also and above all commitment to preferential option for the poor (Bellagamba 1992:91); knowledge of how one's society functions and commitment to fighting social injustice, to replacing unjust structures by just ones and to building a just society; loving one's people and leaders and praying for them are simply logical consequences (Dewel 1986:220).

Prominent African Christians, especially those who are not directly involved in party politics, are almost always negative about political leaders, and generally

judgemental of these leaders; at the same time they are almost never prepared to seriously carry out their own political responsibilities as Christians (Banza 2003:45). For example, they prefer to sit back and criticise rather than come out and speak against social injustice to the relevant authority or publicly protest. Congolese are even more renowned for such indifference (Renton, Seddon & Zeilig 2007:101). God does not support such naivety; he rather encourages the opposite. Genesis 2:15 shows that God put Adam and Eve in the Garden of Eden to tend and care for it even before rebelling against him. This irresponsibility is therefore one of the points which can feature in the empowering programmes to address political indifference in particular. A particular emphasis may also be laid on the Congolese'/Africans' special interest in the socio-political life of their immediate community and of the community at large, on forgiving their "evil" political leaders, on loving them, loving their communities and praying for these communities (Duewel 1986:220). Praying for leaders as recommended by 1 Timothy 2:1-4 is another important political responsibility, which can be taught. Serious intercession for the leaders equally combats subtle hatred of these leaders and keeps people from unnecessary criticism, which is generally based on untrue and inaccurate information (Hagin 1996:2-3). Consequent teachings and exhortations can equally be planned in order to fight political indifference and reluctance to start taking political responsibility where necessary. Such negativity and political irresponsibility seem to be general among Africans. Saddened by the negativity and civic or political irresponsibility of the Africans from the European churches, Kimba (2000:345) exhorts them:

You only need to change your low-minded attitudes, telling you that you are too insignificant and powerless to support and offer or forge Africa's future from the European continent. We all have to change our insensitive behaviour which makes you feel good as, after all, we are well off ...

The quote above clearly addresses the insensitivity and indifference of African Christians and their inability to act for the good of their fellow citizens. These indifferent African Christians already live in Europe but still remain politically irresponsible; those who live in South Africa where I am living now are no different from them. African intellectuals need to show true leadership by playing an active and positive part in the life of their communities. Speaking of the responsibilities of the intelligentsia or educated elite, Burns

(1978:142) observes that intellectual leaders should be involved in the life of their society because they can respond to the needs of the society. Insisting on the particular role a Christian can play for the benefit of her/his community, Kalonji (2000:53–54) maintains that to work properly after God's will a civil government should have a virtuous leadership with a proper Christian training. It is also true that Christian training can come only from the church and its leaders and not from secular institutions that seemingly know little about it. African churches need therefore to have proper leadership training for its members. Leading Africans from the church should be given a serious Christian training so as to become politically responsible (Van der Walt (1996:20). Such training is more needed for people who have been under dictatorships or under harsh and evil political leadership; for those seem to be less tolerant and less forgiving of any leadership. They tend to be very critical of them. And the situation of general suffering, deprivation, poverty, hunger, and the like, which they have endured has developed in them an envious spirit, distrust, hostility, and socio-political passivity and negativity. Commenting on the consequences of long-standing deprivation, Burns (1978:65) observes that such deprivation of a physiological need, even if it has been later satisfied, will leave its imprint on the character of the persons. He later on observes that "Overwhelmingly preoccupied with physiological survival...they do not have enough psychic energy remaining to become mentally or physically concerned with their environment" (:65). Then he continues reporting: "Their attitude towards others is marked by distrust and hostility" (:65). Many Africans belong to this category (Banza 2003:69). So, combating these psycho-political abnormalities is a necessity that requires intentional and well-planned work.

Psalm 107:20 states: "He sent his word and healed them, ..."; Fleming (2006:211) explains that people had to thank God for healing them. People suffering from psychological conditions can equally be made whole to perfection through the meaningful use of the Bible, the powerful effect of the Holy Spirit and spiritual leader's own positive attitude, behaviour and action. The spiritual leader can also aptly and wisely use any applicable psychological-restoration approaches to uproot the evil. Such social values as the value of love, compassion, respect, courage, responsibility, taught by spiritual leaders who support them with concrete related actions can also play a powerful transformative role.

8.4.2 Psychotherapy

Defining psychotherapy, Wolman (1973:304) has this to say:

Psychotherapy is a loose term encompassing a variety of treatment techniques of organic and non-organic mental (i.e. behavior) disorder. In a narrower and most commonly used sense, psychotherapy means psychological treatment of methods.

It is thus a therapy or remedy for a psychological pathology or illness. I do not use the term in its common sense – as in professional Western medicine - but in a much wider sense. It can also be used in case of any psychological and social abnormality. The main two techniques discussable now are horizontalisation and relevant biblical principles, and the African heritage.

8.4.2.1 Horizontalisation

Suggesting “horizontalising vertical relationships” technique, Nürnberger (1996:159) insists that the Christian faith should have such an impact on the level of collective consciousness. Horizontalisation is a technique especially used here in order to correct or rectify social relationships. It consists then in smoothing over relationships between different racial or social groups. It can also be used to combat inferiority and superiority complexes or any other racial and/or socio-cultural evil. Special attention is paid here to the rich and the poor groups, or else to leaders and other disfavoured people of the Congolese or African community. The analysis of the relationships between these two groups reveals a rough transactional relationship between them; in the sense that a leader tends to relate mostly with other leading people rather than with “ordinary” people of the community. But the more the relationship between members of these different groups grows smoother, the more generally it betrays a mutual transactional, clannish and/or ethnic relationship between them; a leader and a member of the community having smoother or closer relationship will ultimately show that there is something secret that

maintains their relationship. “Ordinary” Africans seem to betray an inferiority complex vis-a-vis the leaders, which could result in developing a perpetual superiority complex in the leaders and inferiority complex in other members of the community (Banza 2003:36). Sometimes, church leaders have smoother relationships with African political and economic elite; they enjoy these relationships to the extent that they forget to help them transform spiritually, morally and politically (Gifford 1998:342). This situation constitutes a real danger as far as transformation is concerned. Therefore, informed church leaders can put in place programmes that can deal effectively with the transformation of wrong mentalities and attitudes, and the smoothing of the relations in the most mutually beneficial way. Such empowering programmes will then be careful not to let the leading Africans of the African churches develop pride or feel more important than the members of the community they are leading. Accordingly, the underdog or ordinary members of the African community will be helped to feel as important as they are as dignified images of God. This levelling of some down and others up, will also be a regular and careful practice within the churches and in all their activities. Well-planned and regular instructive and socialising meetings, where the different groups share food and drink, talk and discuss and learn, can help to prevent and/or rectify inferiority and superiority tendencies.

Superiority as well as inferiority complexes have almost the same negative consequences both on the person himself or herself and on the people around her/him. One with a superiority complex usually harbours an affected love for oneself, meaning a fake and wrong love for oneself and a constant inconsideration for the other. Accordingly, a person with an inferiority complex generally has a subtle hatred of oneself or a mixture of hatred and love for self, for his or her social group or people and for the other social group or people (Fanon 1967: 60, 67); inner insecurity and subtle fear are also something general in both cases. Describing the two opposite collective personality structures and the interaction between the oppressed and the oppressor (Western), Nürnberger (1996:151-153) observes that the oppressor is characterised by sadistic love and an oppressive superiority complex, while the oppressed is alienated and ruled over through constant indoctrination into a deep inferiority complex. Though Klaus Nürnberger’s study is based on the colonised oppressed and Western oppressors, the

characteristic differences are insignificant. This is why these psychopathologies need to be counteracted and the victims rendered more confident and secure, more loving and effective. Such a work can be carried out by any effective church worker, in the ordinary life of a church, without the help of professional psychologists. Horizontalising seems easier to do for Christians than for non-Christians thanks to the special assistance of the Holy Spirit (Kretzschmar 2006:344). In the same vein Nürnberger argues that the Christian faith should have the effect of horizontalising vertical relationships on the level of collective consciousness. He later continues stating:

Faith in the Creator reminds people that they have brought nothing into the world and will take nothing out of it. Faith in the Redeemer reminds people that “Christ, being rich, became poor so that we may be enriched by His poverty” (2 Cor 8:9). Faith in the Spirit reminds them that they all belong to the level of miserable sinners and have all been elevated to the status of “sons and daughters of God” The equal dignity of all human beings is a theologically essential component of basic Christian assumptions (Nürnberger 1996:159).

The healing truth from the Bible as shown in Psalm 107:20 and other appropriate literature can therefore help to level and smooth over relationships between different classes, groupings or races, and to empower them accordingly for proper behaviour. Africans suffering from an inferiority complex, especially the most educated ones who were also Fanon’s concern, and any other person or group of people with such a complex can be helped to feel equal with others and important in Christ (Galatians 3:28) and to accept, love and value themselves; but also to accept, love and value others and live with them in a way worthy of the name of Christ (Acts 4:32, 34). Then, we can speak of the positive use of our moral values or African social, cultural and political heritage as remedy.

8.4.2.2 African Heritage as Psychotherapy

Positive and relevant aspects of the African cultural heritage can be of use to help Africans correct and improve their own self-image, to urge them to good actions, to faith in God and to security. This can also help to connect this heritage to Christianity and to

other global positive and well-socialising values. In the same way as values are gleaned from the Bible to exhort or teach, values can also be taught from this heritage. For instance, Shuuya (1973:50-51) says that the Ovambos considered their God to be omnipresent, omnipotent, omniscient, maker of everything, all-watching, faithful and never lying. This knowledge can help to connect Africans with their cultural past and Christianity to better value their Christian life so as to fear their God in all their conduct as required by 1 Peter 1:14-15. It can also help to teach them from the faith of their fathers, especially if they are from Ovamboland. He also tells of the same Ovambos praying for rain, for a rich harvest and better hunting, and even for God to blow a speck of dust out of their eye (Shuuya 1973:52). This understanding can help to exhort them to faithful prayer both for great and small things, for themselves and for their community, and for their leaders and for the socio-political transformation of their communities.

The insights from African history, African traditional religion and philosophy are also intended to play the role which C.H. Felder, the editor of *The Original African Heritage Study Bible*, had in mind when he published it. This was to connect African Blacks or Blacks of African descent historically with their Creator, but also with the entire history of the Christian faith and their past. Introducing this history, Felder (1993:1813) maintains: “The role of Black History is not to prove that the contributions of the Black people...are better or worse than other races, but to stress the simple fact that Africans and African descendants can look back upon their past with pride...”. Accordingly, knowing the importance of the positive past of a people and using it for their self-confidence and hope for their brighter future, Biko (1998:363) has this to say: “Further implications of Black Consciousness are to do with correcting false images of ourselves... there is always an interplay between the history of a people, i.e., the past, and their faith in themselves and hopes for their future”.

Such a memory of the African cultural values can actually play an important therapeutic role. Here is equally the place to list African celebrities and or people of African descent who have made a real difference in life and tell the stories of their exceptional lives to many other Africans. Personalities like Chaka Zulu as a wise and powerful military and political leader (Rodney 1982:131), Nelson Mandela as the first former democratic president of South Africa, Ketumile Masire as former democratic

president of Botswana, Barack Obama as the first African American president of USA, and other role model African leaders of the past and present, can be listed and their brilliant stories told to show that Africa has also had its own ethical political leadership despite long periods of frustrated leadership. This is also the right place to use TMALI's methodology, expose Africans to the rich and dignified history and culture of their foreparents in order to boost their morality, restore confidence in their past and in themselves, and make them feel proud of being Africans. This is indeed a very powerful cultural therapy. Some stories of past and current civil wars, which western powers stage and fight in Africa, by proxy, for purely selfish political and/or economic profits, such as the ones in the east and north of DR Congo (Nzongola-Ntalaja 2007:232-233), can also be shared with the citizens to free them from unrealistic hopes in the West and the International Community for political stability and economic freedom and development in the continent. Such stories can also help Africans develop a sense of self-confidence and responsibility so that they can start planning and acting in a dignified way.

8.5 Transformation through socio-political involvement

This section is about the material or physical involvement of the churches in the socio-political transformation of the surrounding communities. It is reminiscent of the subsection 2.5.3 which recommends developing a transformational leadership from the very community where there is need. The section is about inviting and encouraging African and global churches to be practically involved in the socio-political transformation of their communities with their skills and material means. Nehemiah 2:17-18 can be used to substantiate such a project; the scripture speaks of Nehemiah's steady efforts in getting involved socio-politically in the community life. Commenting on how the work carried out, Fleming (2009:166) observes that the work was properly planned. Groups of people were allotted work areas side by side around the city, so that the entire wall was built. Bellagamba (1992:56-58) considers the church of God as an instrument or agent of social change. As such, it should get involved in all social situations of the communities where it is operating in order to influence them favourably with the gospel. Speaking of memory, community and stories of a people in search of a new future, Katongole (2011:99) observes:

Because these are also deeply theological notions, they increasingly point to gifts that Christianity might offer in the quest for the new future. They point to the church in Africa as uniquely positioned to bear both the gift and the task of inventing a new future in Africa.

The African church is so uniquely positioned because of its privileged standing in the continent as previously mentioned in the third chapter and because of its numerous and highly skilled members that can be used to create or recreate the memory of their golden past, wherever necessary, revive and maintain the spirit and remind the story of the God of restoration and at the same time create their own stories for the better future. All of these require a constant development of a common vision within the larger community. Consequently, I consider restricting the work of leadership development for socio-political transformation to targeting only people who are already in positions of leadership as unsustainably short-sighted and unadvisable because such restriction seems to forget the distant future and the negative influence of the community at large when it remains uninvolved.

My view concerning corrupt African leadership is that Africa has corrupt leaders because the communities where they are coming from are corrupt, and not because they have entered a corrupt career. So, the transformation work should seriously consider how to assist Congolese or African communities to produce more sustainable servant and ethical leadership for the future rather than limiting the work to correcting the current leadership. It can be reminded that these African communities used to produce high level political and cultural leadership years before the Western influence (see 4.3.1); so, they can do it again today if properly assisted. The section deals with ways the leadership of the church can be involved in or engage the community in the socio-political transformation of their world. These ways include conscientisation and analysis based on the concrete situations of the community. The analysis and conscientisation can be reached through contextual Bible reading/study, social analysis, sacramental catechesis, empowerment, moral education or formation, ethical living and instant praying for socio-political transformation that are part of spiritual and political responsibilities of citizens.

Commenting on the mission of the church as liberation, Bellagamba explains the notion and process of conscientisation maintaining:

One important part of mission as liberation is conscientization. To conscientize means to help people know and understand what the root causes are of their lack of freedom, lack of justice, of oppression. It is imperative that people are fully aware of the causes that keep them oppressed, unjustly treated, marginalized, and with no rights (Bellagamba 1992:57).

Conscientisation also consists in making people aware of their responsibility and the role they are supposed to play in order to help bring about the needed transformation in the community. To conscientise people and raise their awareness in order to combat their ignorance and passivity, Linthicum (1991:91) suggests the use of plays/dramas by young people, who then engage a talk with the attending crowd to help them to come to their sense.

Situation analysis is another powerful way of conscientising people and of involving them in the transformation of their leadership and that of their community. People are thus helped to reflect on their own realities, on the meaning, or lack of meaning, in their lives, and on the effects produced by those realities. As indicated by Bellagamba (1992:57-58) below, conscientisation and analysis are based on at least four elements: Bible study, social analysis, sacramental catechesis and empowering people. The problem having been identified while working through the missiological praxis cycle, the solution can also be provided through the same process of this praxis cycle. Each of the elements should have a serious impact on the life of individuals to transform them for personal good and communal welfare. Indifferent Congolese/Africans can thus be assisted to stand and work at various levels for the much needed transformation in their country.

8.5.1 Bible study, re-reading or preaching

Smith (1996:14-15) advises that the Bible be read in the spirit of the situation of the day and explained and lived out accordingly. Such connected applicability of the Bible study and or preaching helps to understand and deal with the issues of the day so as to solve them aptly. Accordingly, Bellagamba (1992:57-58) recommends:

Each situation must be looked at and judged in the light of the Bible. To look at the Bible will help the people see whether a similar situation in which they live is described in the Bible, how God judged it, and how the people acted on it, under the guidance of Yahweh. The Bible sheds light over the situation, gives meaning to it, offers general orientation on the way the situation can be understood, judged, and reacted to. The Bible does not give answers to present realities, because each era has different realities to contend with, but it does give orientations and the possibility of comparison and consequent judgment.

Such studying of the Bible allows the development of personal and contextual confidence in the lives of people such that they cannot easily be demoralised by the situation to complete surrender. Despite the worsening of their socio-political situation, they can still rely on God of the Bible, who is the same yesterday, today and forever (Hebrews 13:8), to stand up, hope and work for the needed transformation.

8.5.2 Social analysis

This is another means that can be used to raise awareness, create a sense of responsibility and involve people in the process of the transformation of their community. Explaining the value of social analysis, Bellagamba (1992:58) observes:

Social analysis offers a scientific opportunity to look at all concrete aspects of the situations in their historicized manifestations and a greater chance to determine what action should be taken. Social analysis helps to study concrete situations, in all their complexities, with the tools of the social sciences, and to arrive at a sound and scientific understanding of them.

This analysis provides people with the needed knowledge to be able to know what to do and how to do it. In cases of exploiting dictatorship, for instance, people can understand that their situation is not unique. They can also use and adapt what other people did to change and improve their living conditions elsewhere in their own situation. Abundant natural resources of DR Congo, for example, and the ways they have been mismanaged by foreigners and Congolese elite can also be explained to the population to activate their informed involvement at this stage.

To deter them from false and deceptive hopes and grow their self-reliance and creativity, stories of how “hostile” organisations and communities work against their good and prosperity (Mutombo-Mukendi 2011:14-16) can be shared. Possible scenarios explaining, for instance, unhelpful attitudes, actions and/or plans of action of the West, especially, USA, Britain, France, and UN towards the invasion of DR Congo as described by Nzongola Ntalaja (2005:28-38; 232-242); assassination of Nkurumah, Lumumba (Nzongola Ntalaja 2005; Renton, Seddon & Zeilig 2007) can be used to inform but above all to empower them. Possible challenges facing them and actions to take can also be discussed at this stage.

As indicated in Chapter 3, when discussing the role feminist theology can play in the situation of the Congo where thousands of women and girls are raped by rebels and government security agents, church leaders and members can plan and act with community leaders and members against this scourge. Teachings and discussions can be planned and actions taken; emphasis can be laid on the fact that women are very important to God, church, family and the larger community. They consequently need respect, protection and due dignity; with the help of Law people organisations for mass education, for protection and defence of women’s rights can be put in place, and further actions planned. It can be reminded again, as discussed earlier, that a woman whose self-esteem and dignity have been affected in this way cannot be easily a transformational leader.

8.5.3 Sacramental catechesis

Bellagamba considers that every opportunity of the reception and celebration of a sacrament can be taken seriously to conscientise people, teaching them about their dignity, freedom, rights in Christ and in their community to be always able to cherish and defend them as responsible Christians and citizens of the community. However, it should be acknowledged here that Bellagamba is a Roman Catholic; when he is talking about sacraments, it is about the seven sacraments. It is a little different when one is talking about the two sacraments of Protestant churches. However, the most important thing here

is the advantageous use of these opportunities for the needed transformation. He thus says:

Preparation for the reception and celebration of the sacraments offers a further opportunity for conscientization. There is a concerted effort made through catechesis to present the sacraments not just as rites neophytes have to go through, but as moments in the believers' lives which make them aware of their dignity, rights, freedom, and how these values can be violated, or taken away altogether. The sacraments enhance the individual's dignity, they confer power to protest and defend it, when it is violated; and they are inserted in the lives of people to make them grow and mature according to God's plan (Bellagamba 1992:58).

Such joyous linking of the church ceremonies with the day-to-day life of the community people bridges the usual and dangerous gap that a dualistic living maintains in the lives of many African Christians to develop a sense of spiritual and socio-political wholeness and unity in their lives (Charles 2002:92, 102).

8.5.4 Empowering people

The fourth important strategy for transformation through socio-political involvement in communities is the empowerment of people. People need the necessary empowerment at this stage to be able to work for the transformation. The available skills can equally be identified and those who have them can be encouraged to use them in order to solve real problems of the community. Linthicum (2003:77) proposes organising a community development project that would work with and mobilise the poor to provide for the needed community services for themselves. Along these lines Bellagamba states:

People must rely on the gifts they have received from God, in their own experience. They must nurture hope, based on the God of the Bible who "has shown might with his arm and has confused the proud in their inmost thoughts; has deposed the mighty from their thrones, and has raised the lowly to high places; has given every good thing to the hungry, and has sent the rich away empty' (Lk. 1: 51-53). They must become assured that the movement of liberation of God in history cannot be counteracted by anybody. This empowerment gives the chance to people to act, to react, a reality in their lives, in the circumstances of their historical existence (Bellagamba 1992:58).

Among the possible actions and reactions, and initiatives to be taken in this context I can suggest opposing exploiting and oppressive political leaders who do not care about the needs of their people. Speaking of such actions of the people of God, Linthicum (2003:77) advises that Christians should be advocates for the powerless. An excellent biblical example of such ministry of advocacy is found in Jeremiah 22:13-17 where the prophet confronts the king for his lavish lifestyle in the face of intense poverty. Different confrontation means can be used here depending on specific situations or contexts. Another valuable action consists in practising Christian faith by working for social justice and shalom (Jeremiah 29:7; Linthicum 2003:76); the same can encompass posing positive actions as cleaning and protecting their environment; praying for the transformation to come and acting accordingly. Green (1987:98) refers to the maxim of Lord Acton, observes: "Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely ...". This maxim being often true, community people can also be empowered to be able to act as a railing, which prevents leaders who try to corrupt themselves from falling off the bridge. The empowered people will be able to discern leaders' corrupt actions and irresponsibility to oppose them through protests and any other relevant actions to limit and stop their misdeeds.

The necessary social, political and economic skills for the empowering of the community people such as dressmaking, knitting, farming skills, computer literacy, and more, can also be taught through church NGO's and various other activities of the church. Describing the way the Pentecostal church in Korea has contributed to the economic growth of Korea and indirectly that of the region, Cox (1995:233-234) reports:

... this stunningly ambitious evangelistic enterprise was taking place just at the moment of Korea's rocketing economic take-off, it is impossible to believe there was not some connection. And of course there was. During *There's life, Korea*, and in the campaigns that have followed it, and indeed in what has become the routine modus operandi of many Korean churches, hundreds of thousands of people whose parental culture, if not their own, had been rural and traditional learned the bottom-line skills of modern market economy. They learned to communicate a simple message with passion and enthusiasm. They learned to organize promotional efforts, make check-off lists, and to utilize telephones, slide projectors, and tapes. They learned to iron out personality clashes in task-oriented groups, coordinate their own efforts horizontally with parallel units and vertically

with larger coordinating collectivities. They learned to set goals and reach them. They learned to come to meetings on time, keep them going at a brisk pace, and then go out and accomplish whatever was decided.

Commenting later on the extended results of a wisely planned and executed spiritual and social project, Gifford (1998:346) observes that this training constitutes a ‘concentrated crash course in what millions of others who fill the lower and middle echelons of modern corporations learn at business schools and sales institutes’. Their result-oriented and pragmatic spiritual consequences spill over to make their work result-oriented and pragmatic too. This work of inculcating the necessary modern economic skills in the lives of their membership is equally required of the African churches today. The day-to-day life of the church may be the living school for the community people despite countless African challenges. These are more than needed for the effective transformation of the community people and their preparation for efficient leadership work and personal socio-economic responsibility. The development of the sense of respect of time, solving of personality clashes in task-oriented groups, goal setting and reaching, as well as result-oriented planning and implementing are currently part of acute Congolese and African problems that need rapid solutions from the African church as well as from other appropriate social institutions.

8.5.5 Moral education and ethical living

Apart from conscientisation and social analysis, community people may be educated to know their duties and responsibilities towards each other and towards the community as a whole as well as their own rights (McDowell & Beliles 2008:190-191; Mutombo-Mukendi (2011:26). At this stage it should be emphasised that ethical living of the church leader is of paramount value to encourage and convince people that what is said is no lip service in any way, but the truth for the welfare of each person and for the common good of the community. Accordingly, commenting on the importance of the positive influence of the leadership, Kouzes and Posner (2001:89) observe: “People learn – and respond to – what we are”. Church leaders can remember that their disobeying God has very counterproductive effects both on church members’ lives and on the socio-political blessing of the whole community (Kä Mäna 2001:34-36; 2 Kings 17:24-33).

8.6 Conclusion

This chapter has offered an opportunity to answer the question “How can the African churches, especially the Church of Christ of Congo, develop their members into candidates fit for transformational public leadership?” The question has been explored and projects have been proposed to African churches for use to develop transformed Christians, people who can be ready enough to serve their God as the Holy One both in the church arenas and in the larger community in a dignified manner. The application of a socio-political evangelism through a four-dimensional discipleship programme has been proposed to this effect. The chapter equally encompasses a section that lays a special emphasis on collaboration with the members of the communities where African churches operate in order to sensitise them so that together they can work for a comprehensive and sustainable development of a transformational political leadership.

The chapter has suggested that church leadership need constant prevailing intercessions for their prior transformation before they can be able to plan and carry out the needed activities for the transformation of the church and community members and the necessary socio-political transformation in the community. Churches and their leadership have been urged to pray and beg forgiveness for their multiple collaboration and involvements with exploiting powers for years.

As concerns the transformation of the current political leaders the chapter has proposed socio-political intercession as a primary means to reach out to incumbent political leaders. Such socio-political intercession will be used to pray for the leaders in service for God who is able to turn their hearts wherever he wishes (Proverbs 21:1) and who uplifts and puts them down as he wills (Daniel 4:35-36) to do the job in them. Churches and teams of intercessors can regularly organise to pray both for Christians working in political arenas for their protection and strengthening and for non-Christian leaders, too, for God to touch their hearts that socio-political life should be led according to his good will for his people. More intercession would also be conducted for the comprehensive transformation of individuals and of socio-political structures of their communities (Dewel 1986:131).

The chapter has made different suggestions on how to develop the necessary character in the people of the community. Basically, instead of looking for the transformational leaders the community has never groomed, the churches and the larger community leaders can design and execute training programmes that can help to develop the desired characters within the population of the community according to the needs, then select and train the best qualified individuals for specific leadership positions.

In conclusion, acting consistently for the deeper transformation of individuals and socio-political transformation of the community, African churches will prove themselves really multicultural, multinational, holistic and globalising instruments of transformation that can make real social difference both spiritually and socio-politically.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUDING FEATURES AND THE WAY FORWARD

9.1 Introduction

This research has afforded the opportunity to study how the socio-political transformation of Africa can be effected through the development of the African communities, especially, the political leadership that can facilitate such transformation. After analysing leadership theories and church social missions in the second and third chapters, the context analysis of Africa in the fourth and fifth chapters has shown that the socio-political situation is dire due to the poor leadership. An analysis of organisations involved in leadership development in Africa, especially Operaf, showed that much needed still to be done.

A Congolese scholar, V.Y. Mudimbe (1994) has written a book about the invention of Africa and his fellow national Kä Mäna (2005:216) has equally emphasised the necessity of inventing Africa. This research has also considered how to reinvent a transformed twenty-first century Africa, an Africa that has experienced slavery, colonialism and neo-colonialism, and that can now live a dignified life despite the challenges of the time; this needs to be an Africa that is led by a well-informed and transformational African leadership. The research equally analysed the potential and limits of the social role of the church on the continent; since poor church leadership is also part of the problem, it was necessary to determine the profile of the required leadership for an effective socio-political discipleship in chapter 7. Using the praxis approach once more in the final chapter, the following are the concluding insights of the study as a whole.

9.2 Findings in terms of the dimensions of the praxis

In earlier chapters, some dimensions of the missiological praxis cycle were used to investigate how the church can contribute to the effective development of political

leadership for the transformation of the continent. Here I present some concluding insights by using all seven dimensions of the praxis because it allows a more detailed presentation of my findings.

9.2.1 Spirituality

By spirituality, here, I mean the dominant motivation, religious vision and worldview that guide inner actions in the community (Kritzinger 2010:10). For me, as a Christian, spirituality is also the guiding light of the praxis approach, which informs the whole transformation process. As concerns the spirituality of the Church of Christ of Congo, especially, the spirituality of its leadership, it appears to be poor and truncated as Kretzschmar (2006:352) has described the spirituality of some African church leaders. Its ineffectivity is manifest from the nature and quality of its church work, of its training institutions to the practical day-to-day living. After analysing the programmes for the theological education in DR Congo, Downey (1989:117) observes that the training is inappropriate to nurture effective transformational church leaders, who can help develop transformational socio-political leaders. Tshilenga (2005:196) suggests that the spirituality of these church leaders is poor because of the failure to reach true spiritual conversion. These leaders generally read the Bible and offer Christian education to church members as part of the traditional church programmes and not to draw the attention of the church members to the socio-political challenges facing the community in order to fight for change. The Bible repeatedly shows that socio-political transformation and political leadership development can efficiently be achieved through the constant intercession of god-fearing people and appropriate Christian education, efficaciously supported by the transformative actions of church leaders (Maxwell 2007:1420) as suggested in 8.2. As shown earlier socio-political intercession is almost non-existent in the Church of Christ of Congo; hardly are any other effective actions taken to reach the needed transformation either.

Apart from the commitment of TMALI's programmes to providing the students with intellectual skills, the organisation is also guided by the values of love, honesty and caring service which they intend to develop through their various materials and activities.

They try to give new life to ubuntu philosophy so as to transform individuals and communities. The newness of the organisation and complexity of their agents makes it somewhat difficult to determine spiritual values and potential of the organisation to reach their ethical objectives. However, it can be indicated that people the organisation calls in to speak to students and at conferences are well-selected ones, those whose lives are known to be ethical enough.

9.2.2 Ecclesial analysis

This subsection deals with the assessment of the agents and/or community of mission who have been working in this African context. In the third chapter I conducted such an ecclesial analysis/scrutiny. The chapter analysed the African church as probably the most powerful institution in sub-Saharan Africa (Gifford 1998:1); its public social mission was also analysed. The chapter also explained leadership development as an important part of the church's mission and responsibility since it is a community-building institution which can educate both the leaders and the led. It was also indicated that church people could take up the Bible and other necessary materials and to share Christian truths with the people of the larger community and its socio-political leadership; they could equally live up to their teachings as a way of practising a public theology in the community. The importance of the individual and collective contributions of all the members of the community was underscored in this process. The church was therefore invited to be humble, open, comprehensive and inclusive enough so as to help the whole community to be able to assume an effective leadership role.

Researchers have shown strong historical evidence pointing to the fact that pre-Christian Africa enjoyed a widespread democratic and servant socio-political leadership (Pobee 1993:268; Okyerefo 2001:113). And in today's sub-Saharan Africa states with Christian minority (such as Mauritius) are recognised as the best-governed after the Ibrahim Index of African Governance (www.moibrahimfoundation.org) while nations with a predominant Christian population (such as DR Congo) have been suffering from poor leadership for decades (Muluma 2002:229-234).

African churches have been said to hold much spiritual, intellectual, social potential that can be used for a successful accomplishment of the mission of developing a transformational leadership and of socio-political transformation. However, it has also been noted that their inability to deal successfully with some of their limitations has prevented them from achieving a real success in their social missions. Elements that have emerged are “talking the talk but not walking the walk”, siding with exploiting powers, failure to practise transformative theologies and to integrate and profitably use positive cultural values (3.5). Clarifying the meaning of *Ecclesial scrutiny*, Kritzing (2010:10) explains this dimension of the praxis as consisting in describing what churches or religions are doing or have been doing in a given situation of a community. This description also includes the real impact of that role/work of the religious group(s) in the said community. The analysis of the economic, religious and socio-political context of DR Congo (as seen in chapter 4) makes it clear that the people of the country are highly religious, with more than 80% of the population being Christians and belonging to diverse church denominations. Poor political leadership has been deepening their misery for decades, if not for centuries. The Church of Christ of Congo that could give hope for the transformation of the nation has proven incapable to do so because of its own poor leadership, corruption, compromise with dictators and its “split” and non-transformational theologies (chapter 4).

A special Christian organisation therefore has stepped in as shown in Chapter 6. Operaf which was established in 2001 is still struggling to make a transformative impact in the nation despite almost a decade of teaching leadership principles to high-ranking individuals and organisations. As explained in 6.2, part of the problem may be the limited number of the political pastors who also have their own spiritual, ethical and socio-political challenges. Poor church leadership as identified above as well as church poor performance in leadership development and socio-political transformation, have compelled me to propose a profile of the church leadership needed for an effective socio-political discipleship.

9.2.3 Contextual understanding

This subsection is about the analysis of the African context. So, Chapter 5 presented an analysis of the predominant socio-political climate in the African continent, in general, whereas Chapter 4 looked specifically at the context of DR Congo. Normally, context analysis consists in examining social structures and systems of a context in order to understand what is going on in it so that problems which need addressing can be identified (Kritzinger 2010:10).

As far as the African context is concerned, in relation to the economic, social and political life of the communities and leadership dealings, particularly in the context of DR Congo, the analysis has revealed that the majority of people have been leading a long-standing life of poverty, if not of misery; poor medical care and hygiene, poor education systems and persistent socio-political exploitation that have almost pushed them to the extreme. Poor political systems - led by corrupt, irresponsible, selfish, weak and unethical leaders - have worsened the situation thus bringing many to a state of complete despair. Political leaders who have faith neither in themselves nor in their own people have kept on exploiting and impoverishing the common people and serving themselves and foreign powers and interests. Given that today's African political leadership has become very selfish, corrupt, undemocratic and irresponsible (Adbulai 2001:73-74) in the context where socio-political transformation is much needed, the need for the development of a transformational leadership proves very urgent. The Democratic Republic of Congo has been used in this study to contextualise the historical elements as analysed in the research while the fifth chapter has analysed the general economic and socio-political situation prevailing on the continent. The fifth chapter has also shown that the need for an African renaissance in the twenty-first Africa is very strong because of the many economic, health, cultural, social and political challenges that are facing the continent.

9.2.4 Agency

The agency dimension of the praxis consists in specifying the actors who have been involved in the life of the community for its transformation. It also raises the problem of the kind of significant encounters in which they are involved.

As concerns the African context in general and the context of DR Congo, in particular, church members and their leaders as well as church organisations like Operaf, and other individuals and organisations as civil societies, have been involved to some degree in the process of developing a leadership for the transformation of the continent. As explained in 6.2, African Operation is a Christian organisation involved in the development of public leadership for socio-political transformation. It relies heavily on the global and local partnerships for survival and success in its business of leadership development. It mainly uses African church leaders, but sometimes also the laity.

The analysis of African Renaissance and its agents in chapter 5 also plays a central role in this thesis. It surveyed the progressive idea of African rebirth and/or transformation in the historicised mind of Africans through centuries, especially, dating from the 18th century. African renaissance philosophy has led to the development of organisations such as TMALI and others which use a highly educated and professional staff for the development of a transformational leadership who can bring about the needed socio-political transformation on the continent. The module on Ancient Africa, its achievements and contributions to human knowledge and epistemology play an important role as they strive to bring about cultural and psychological therapy to Africans. The module provides a clear analysis and understanding of what Africa experienced over the last five hundred years, to enable Africans to transform themselves and contribute to the effective transformation of their community.

9.2.5 Theological reflection

Theological reflection refers to the particular way people read the Bible, interpret their religious traditions and reflect in relation to the specific situation of or challenges facing their community. It also deals with spirituality and values systems which influence life in

that community. Observations on theological reflection have been mainly based on the analysis done in Chapter 6.

Banda (2010:109) indicates that Christianity is a predominant religion in Africa. Both Operaf and TMALI leaders understand that there is a serious problem of poor political leadership in the continent. The inspiration of Operaf for the resolution of the problem of poor African leadership fundamentally comes from biblical principles. It has thus been relying heavily on teaching the Bible to African elites and leaders to equip them as potential missionaries in their communities. The organisation has also been selecting church leaders that it trains to carry out a political pastorate among political leaders. History books and other relevant materials have been equally used to train both church workers and political leaders for special empowerment. Basically, the empowering of all these leaders aims at a possible socio-political transformation of the continent as a whole.

TMALI is not a church organisation; it is an academic organisation which is also involved in leadership development for socio-political transformation. It too uses history books and other materials for the development of their leaders. African Renaissance publications are essential materials used in this regard.

9.2.6 Strategic planning

This dimension of praxis concerns how people plan, strategise and make decisions for actions that can transform the community in relation to the challenges they face. It concerns concrete faith projects put in place to change negative situations in the community. Therefore, strategic planning of both Operaf and TMALI and the socio-political discipleship proposed in Chapter 8 can be discussed briefly.

As indicated in 6.2.4 Operaf has initiated evangelistic projects for African elites and leaders in order to bring them to Christianity and empower them for socio-political transformation. In the process many have been Christianised. Social interventions have also been initiated for leaders so as to raise their awareness about community service. TMALI has been using conferences, seminars and short courses for the training and empowering of the students as qualified transformational leaders. Different TMALI

programmes aim at intellectual, moral and socio-political transformation. Some of those programmes pursue cultural and psychological therapy, and anti-recolonisation objectives in their lives and in the life of their communities.

A socio-political discipleship was proposed in Chapter 8. This discipleship has been developed in four main projects, which have been devised to deal effectively with the problem of political leadership development and socio-political transformation in Africa. The first one concerns a socio-political intercession which involves church people to regularly pray for people in authority to behave wisely (Mostert 1997:97-98). Before praying people are also educated about a number of things concerning leadership development and socio-political transformation. The project also encourages people to intercede for the Christians engaged in the public life of the communities to continue serving the Lord boldly wherever they work as Daniel did in Babylon, excelling in good service and causing kings to worship his God (Fleming 2009:331). Intercession is equally advised for church leaders so that they can be equipped for the task.

The second project is about the development of transformed people and has proposed how the nurturing of Christians fit for the transformational leadership of their communities can be reached. A four-dimensional discipleship is proposed to secure spiritual, intellectual, moral and socio-political transformation of church members. Such transformation empowers them with the necessary qualities and abilities to be useful light and salt to their communities (Kalemba 2011:12). Developing the right people for socio-political transformation is deemed better than inventing better methods even though both of these are important for the transformation (Mostert 2007:149). The right people are the transformed leadership who can use their values, qualities and abilities in a positive and efficient way to develop more transformed leaders. People with skills are encouraged to use them for empowering many others and for socio-political transformation in the community.

The third project is about psychological therapy. Because of the general negative historical background Africans have had, psychotherapeutic arrangements and actions need to be taken for restoration of their self-esteem, self-value and right appreciation of their African culture and values as compared to those of other people, especially, their former colonisers. This psychological healing and cultural value restoration can be

carried out through teachings about their positive past and present where recommendable as done by TMALI, but also through the use of relevant biblical passages as indicated earlier.

The fourth aspect of socio-political discipleship is about the involvement of the church in the larger community for socio-political transformation. Therefore, various secondary projects were suggested that could involve church leaders and their membership in the life of their communities so as to get community members to become active contributors to the transformation of their own communities. Community people could equally be helped to know and clearly understand their rights and responsibilities as well as those of their leaders to be able to plan and act or react in an informed and responsible fashion.

9.2.7 Reflexivity

This dimension is about the interplay between the different dimensions of the community's mission praxis. The dimension tries to discern whether the different agents succeed in holding together the dimensions of the praxis cycle and how they reflect on their prior experiences and modify their praxis by learning from their mistakes and achievements. It also studies how all the dimensions of the praxis relate to each other in these agents of transformation. Challenges of using the cycle of missiological praxis can also be appreciated here.

As shown in 6.2.4.4, Operaf held together the different dimensions and used them in a consistent way. But the interpretation of the tradition (theological reflection) sometimes lost effective touch with strategic planning for action. For example, the Bible is the main reference book for the organisation; it has been used as the guiding light for their core principles and for teaching. The Bible holds socio-political intercession as the main activity for leadership development and socio-political transformation as detailed in 8.2, but for Operaf intercession seems to be just a secondary activity. Self-leadership (character and integrity) is a very important qualification for a transformational leader (Maxwell 2005:93; Van Rensburg 2007:88), but the selection and training of political pastors seem to overlook this value in Operaf. The African context seems to have been

well-understood but the objectives are not clearly articulated to underscore leadership development, which can weaken the force of the mission. Operaf has also come to an understanding that training students and other people who are not in leadership positions is essential as mentined earlier.

TMALI's different agents have used the vision, mission statement, context analysis, interpretation of traditions of the organisation to plan strategically in order to contribute to leadership development and socio-political transformation. The agents of this organisation have also used different programmes and materials to reach the academic objectives, ubuntu education, psychologic restoration and anti-recolonisation preparation.

As indicated earlier in Chapter 6 (see 6.1), only the dimensions of agency, contextual understanding, tradition interpretation, strategic planning and reflexivity have been used in this study in a consistent way in this thesis to avoid confusion. As concerns this thesis, spirituality has been at the heart of the whole study. After analysing leadership theories in Chapter 2 and church missions in Chapter 3, the fourth and fifth chapters dealt with the contextual understanding of Africa. The sixth chapter analysed the two organisations involved in leadership development thanks to the leadership theories as seen in Chapter 2, using only five praxis dimensions. Church shortcomings from the chapter three, 3.6 and dire poor church leadership as observed in 4.6.4.2 led to determining the profile of the church leadership that can be effective for the socio-political discipleship proposed. A proactive and socio-political church was prompted by the discussion in 4.8; that is a church in which socio-political discipleship can be effective.

9.3 Recommendations

Given the damage caused by the poor leadership of the African church, there is an urgent need for African churches to develop an effective church leadership before they can be able to play an efficacious role in developing a transformational political leadership for the continent.

It is not recommended for a church or church organisation to focus its efforts in leadership development only on people already in leadership positions because that has proven to be ineffective (Mutombo-Mukendi 2011:158-159; Gifford 1998:341-342). Such an approach seems exclusionist and limited; it can even be discriminatory. Mistakenly, it often tends to solve a wrong problem by focusing on the symptoms rather than dealing seriously with the underlying causes of the real problems (Mutombo-Mukendi 2011:94-95, 281). Being narrow in its ambition, such an approach does not appear to be sustainable in its understanding of the development of the transformational leadership.

Given that many dictators and mismanagers of the public goods claimed to have been Christian (Muluma 2002:229-234), it is not advisable to restrict the programmes for the development of a leadership for socio-political transformation to Christianising people and structures only (Mutombo-Mukendi 2005:12-121).

It is advantageous to African church leadership to adopt a programme of socio-political discipleship as suggested in Chapter 8 because it can help both church leadership and membership to be transformed spiritually, intellectually, morally and socio-politically so as to contribute to the socio-political transformation of their communities in a comprehensive way.

Given the poor church leadership as indicated and the consistent calls for the review of the programmes used for the training of church leaders to date in 4.6.4.2, this thesis recommends that the current programmes be reviewed for the development of a transformational church leadership. Such a review can consider excluding all non-transformational elements and including practical and theoretical aspects which can allow their personal transformation, that of others and the socio-political transformation of their communities.

A good knowledge of the history of Africa - as concerns slavery, colonisation, neo-colonisation and the present socio-political, cultural, economic situation of the African nations - is necessary for African leadership and common people to understand what has happened to them. Such knowledge could enable them to righteously appreciate themselves and the people of other continents, especially, the Westerners. It would also allow them to plan and work efficiently for the transformation of the continent without

waiting for the West to come to their rescue. The lack of such knowledge leads not only to low self - ending in subtle “self-hatred” and despise of one’s own people and of their oppression and exploitation - but also in laziness and reliance on those who cannot work for their transformation.

9.4 Conclusion

This thesis considers that by improving their own transformational leadership and becoming more analytical in their dealing with the causes of poor political leadership, African churches can do better in their efforts to develop a transformational leadership the continent needs than what has been done up to now.

The study acknowledges a special place and role to a proactive and socio-political church, which can stand up in the community as the church with a specific political task (Katongole 2011:196). This is a church that seeks to influence the world by being the church, i.e., by being something the world is not and can never be without the gift of faith and the vision which is purely Christian in the Lord Jesus. This is also a church, which is visible to the world and in which people are faithful to their promises, honour the poor and work to show that God rules (Hauerwas 1995:46-48).

Due to space constraints, it was not possible in this study to investigate the deepest causes of poor African church leadership or to develop a detailed programme to improve this leadership. So, further investigations are needed in this regard. It has also been found that the silence and indifference of the African and global church leadership concerning the harmful roles played by the International Community and/or the Western powers in the development of poor political leadership and socio-political disasters in Africa for decades were a tacit complicity (Mutombo-Mukendi 2011:277). Further investigations should be conducted into the reasons behind this perilous attitude to be able to encourage this church leadership to be more constructive in their attitudes and actions in this regard in the future.

This thesis agrees with Mugambi (1995:19) who posits the following: “I define theology as the systematic articulation of human response to revelation within a particular situation and context.” Therefore, this study encourages and expects theologians and church leaders to take full responsibility for the development of an effective leadership

and total socio-political transformation of their communities. They can commit themselves to systematic study and articulation of causes of poor leadership, lack of transformation and to how the lives of their people can be completely transformed.

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APPENDIXES

Appendix 1 Research Letter

Department of Christian Spirituality, Church History and Missiology
University of South Africa
PO Box 392
UNISA
0003

2012-07-04

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam

As supervisor of the doctoral research project of Mr Albert Kabuaya Banza, I hereby affirm that he is a bona fide postgraduate student of the University of South Africa, who is doing a research project entitled:

Transforming Africa: The role of the church in developing political leaders

In his research he compares the roles of churches with that of other leadership development institutions in Africa. I commend him to you, with the request that you assist him in pursuing this important research topic.

His contact details are: 303 Protea Flats, 542 Servaas Street, Pretoria West and he can be contacted at 082 700 2961 or banzalberka@gmail.com.

If you have any questions about this research project, you are welcome to contact me at the departmental address above or by telephone at 012 429 4477 or 082 297 9216. My email address is kritzjnj@unisa.ac.za

Yours sincerely



Prof JNJ Kritzinger
Doctoral supervisor



Appendix 2: Informed Consent

INFORMED CONSENT

I, the undersigned, hereby give consent that Mr AK Banza, a Doctor of Theology student at the University of South Africa, may use the information that I supplied to him in an interview for his doctoral thesis. I declare the following:

Statement	Agree	Do not agree
1. I have been informed by the researcher of the details of the intended research		
2. The researcher supplied to me his name, address and contact details as well as the details of his research supervisor		
3. I was informed why I was selected as an informant for the research project		
4. I give this consent willingly, under no coercion and without inducement		
5. I received satisfactory answers to any questions that I had about the research		
6. I was informed of the estimated time that the interview would take		
7. I retain the right to refrain from answering any questions posed by the researcher		
8. I agree that the interview may be recorder by means of an electronic device		
9. I agree that the researcher may quote my views in his thesis and in any subsequent publications that may flow from it		
10. I require that he should present to me (for my approval) the record that he made of the interview(s) with me, before including it in his thesis		
11. I agree that he may refer to me by name when quoting my views		
12. I accept that he will keep the record of my interview safely and that he will destroy it no later than two years after his thesis has been accepted		
13. I understand this information and its implications		
14. I understand that I may withdraw this consent at any time in writing, without needing to give reasons		

Full names:

Place: Date:

Signature:

Appendix 3: Questionnaires for Operaf International President 1 & 2

Questionnaire for Operaf International President – Part 1

1. OPERAF has been operational in Africa for more than decade. Why does the organisation focus on political leadership development?

.....

.....

How do you intend to reach a complete development of a transformational political leadership in the continent?

.....

.....

2. Can I know how many political leaders have been transformed and how significant is their transformation in practical terms?

.....

.....

3. OPRAF was initially established in DR Congo. Why a decade later, socio-politically speaking, things seem not to be different?

.....

.....

4. Muluma is one of the well-known Congolese theologians. His 2002 study suggests that the poor state of the church leadership has also contributed very negatively to

the situation of the Congo. Knowing it, what does Operaf do in training political
pastorate elements?

.....
.....

5. Mutombo-Mukendi is another Congolese theologian. Given the poor church
leadership, he observes that there is no need Christianising socio-political
institutions and characters. What is your opinion?

.....
.....

6. The literature on African leadership development indicates that given the stubborn
negative effects of colonization, combating lack of initiative, dependency and lack
of work ethics, low commitment, complacency, weak management and lack of
planning, requires seriously use of psychotherapy. Does Operaf have corrective
programmes in this connection?

.....
.....

7. Another such literature insists that the development of transformational leaders for
Africa needs to raise awareness about hidden foreign hands that continually harm
good governance and encourage poor leadership in the continent. What is the
position and action of Operaf if any?

.....

-
8. In his *Leadership Challenge in Africa*, a South African theologian suggests that the development of African leadership be well integrated in African culture. Do you agree with him?
9. If you do, has Operaf done something in this connection?
.....
.....
10. Operaf training programmes suggest teaching African history, economic systems, etc. What is the specific value of that in the development of a transformational leadership?
.....
11. Christian literature indicates that personal four-dimensional transformation/conversion of a leader is important for her/him to be able to effect socio-political transformation in their community. Is this also the opinion of Operaf?
12. If yes, how does the organization make this happen?
.....
.....
13. Given the type of my investigation, what advice can you given me for better ministry after instigation?
.....
.....

Thank you very much Mr. President. Bye bye.

Questionnaire for Operaf International President - Part 2

1. What are the advantages or benefits of being IP of Operaf?

.....

.....

2. What are the difficulties and disadvantages of your work?

.....

.....

3. Operaf intercessors pray for political leaders. Do you have intercessors for your self and for your ministry and family?

.....

.....

4. Christian literature and the Bible underline the particular importance of prayer for leadership development and socio-political transformation. Mr. President, do you also pray for your that?

5. If yes, how often do you do that?

.....

.....

6. You are the International President of Operaf. Do you have a deputy International President?

.....

7. If yes, who is s/he?

.....

Thank you very much, Mr. President.

Appendix 4 : Questionnaire for National Coordination Authorities of Operaf DR Congo

Operaf DRC 2012 : Questionnaire d'Enquête pour la Thèse

1. Quelle est la date d'établissement d'OPERAf DRC?
2. Quelle est la date d'accréditation d'OPERAf DRC?
3. Qui en est le président ?
4. Qui en est le coordinateur national?
5. Qui sont ses collaborateurs ? Bref, quelle est la composition de l'équipe dirigeante de l'OPERAf DRC aujourd'hui ? Si possible, un petit commentaire à coté de chaque nom.

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

6. Combien de ministres ou d'autres personnalités importantes Operaf DRC a vu se convertir au Seigneur?
7. Combien sont encore dans le Seigneur ?
8. Combien de cellules des leaders sont opérationnelles aujourd'hui ?
9. Combien de leaders ont été déjà formés ?
10. Combien de ces derniers montrent les signes probants de maturité spirituelle?

.....
.....
.....

12. Est-ce que les leaders touchés et transformés au travers Operaf au Congo ont-ils exercé une action transformatrice dans la communauté de la place ?

.....

-
13. Si oui, qu'ont-ils changé alors ?
-
-
-
14. Combien de leaders sont encore en formation ?
-
15. Puis-je avoir un exemplaire de vos programmes de formation ?
-
-
16. Est-ce que John Maxwell est l'un de vos partenaires ?
17. Si oui, quel rôle y joue-t-il?
-
-
18. L'organisation a-t-elle un service ou département d'intercession? Si oui, comment
fonctionne t-il? C'a environ combien d'intercesseurs?
-
-

Je vous remercie très sincèrement.

Fait le 27-03-2010

Appendix 5: Questionnaire for Operaf Students

1. Why did you register for Operaf programmes?

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.....

2. Academically, what difference have the training programmes made in your life?

.....

.....

3. Ethically speaking, what difference have they made?

.....

.....

4. Spiritually speaking, what difference have they made?

.....

.....

5. Socio-politically, what difference have they made?

.....

.....

6. What can you do now differently?

.....

.....

.....

Appendix 6: Questionnaire for TMALI Leadership – 1 & 2

Questionnaire for TMALI Leadership – Part 1

1. UNISA is an institution of higher education with a reputation of training leaders for more than a century. What special role does TMALI play at UNISA as an institution for training and or developing African leaders?

.....

.....

2. How does TMALI intend to reach the assigned objectives? What programmes have been designed for the purpose?

.....

.....

3. How long has TMALI been pursuing these objectives?

.....

.....

4. How long is a training period? What is the duration of a training?

.....

.....

5. How many African leaders have been trained by TMALI?

.....

6. How many have been transformed or reborn after TMALI's idea African leaders?

.....

.....

7. And how many of them have been doing things differently?

.....

.....

.....

8. How many Congolese have been through TMALI trainig?

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.....

Questionnaire for TMALI Leadership – Part 2

1. In the traditional Africa, spirituality or relation of a leader with his/her God was a very important component. What is the opinion of the institute on this idea?

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2. Literature on the development of leaders for socio-political transformation proposes that such leaders be developed close to or within the very communities to be transformed. Does TIMALI spouse such idea?

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3. If yes, does the institute have training projects which take place in such communities?

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.....

4. TIMALI training programmes suggest teaching African history, economic systems, etc. What is the specific value of that in the development of a transformational leadership?

.....

.....

5. In his *Leadership Challenge in Africa*, a South African theologian suggests that the development of African leadership be well integrated in African culture. What is your opinion? Does TMALI ever do something in this connection?

.....
.....

6. The literature on African leadership development indicates that given the stubborn negative effects of colonization, combating lack of initiative, dependency and lack of work ethics, low commitment, complacency, weak management and lack of planning, requires seriously use of psychotherapy. What is your opinion and what does TMALI do about it?

.....
.....

7. Another such literature insists that the development of transformational leaders for Africa needs to raise awareness about hidden foreign hands that continually harm good governance and encourage poor leadership in the continent. What is the position and action of TMALI if any?

.....
.....

8. Given the nature of my investigation, can I please have your advice?

.....

Thank you very much for everything, Sir/Madam.

Appendix 7: Questionnaire for TMALI Students

7. Why did you register for TMALI programmes?

8. Academically, what difference have the training programmes made in your life?

9. Ethically speaking, what difference have they made?

10. Spiritually speaking, what difference have they made?

11. Socio-politically, what difference have they made?

12. What can you do now differently?
